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New York : Bookman Assoicates, [1960]

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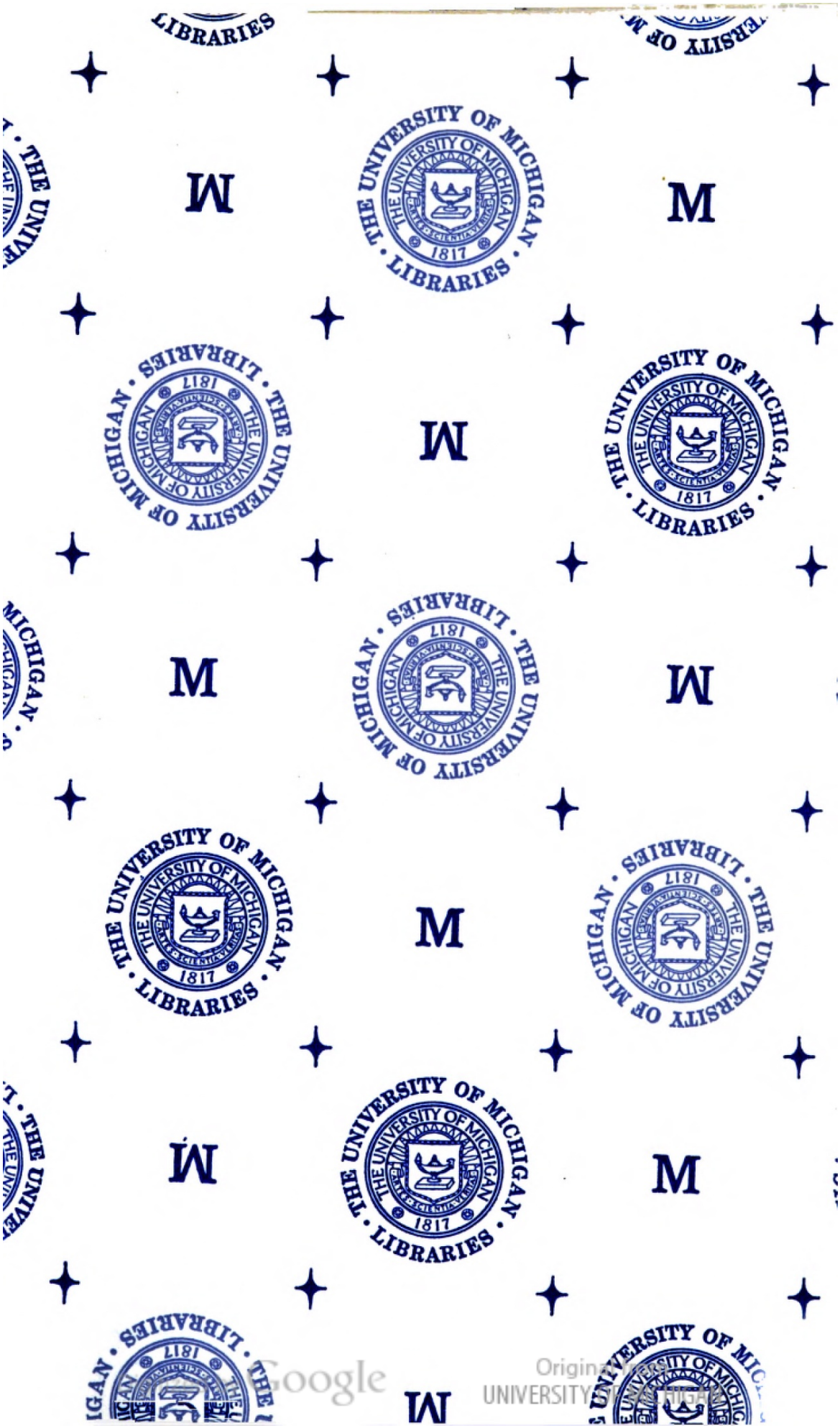

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THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

Nationalism of the Non-Russian Nations in the Soviet Union

Roman Smal-Stocki
Marquette University

With a Preface by
LEV E. DOBRIANSKY
Institute of Ethnic Studies
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BOOKMAN ASSOCIATES
New York

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TO

MRS. C. I. STRALEM

IN DEEPEST RESPECT

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Foreword

"Uncivilized peoples love liberty, civilized peoples love order, and there can be no order without autocracy . . . Autocracy is the soul, the life of Russia."

NICHOLAS KARAMZIN,
Father of modern Russian history (1766-1826)

"I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

THOMAS JEFFERSON

It is surely not beyond the realm of probability for the United States and the entire Free World to suffer disastrous defeat under the claws of the present Russian Empire. Contrary to superficial opinion, the possibility of such a humiliating outcome does not necessarily imply the precondition of any hot global war. Indeed, on the basis of the history of the past and present Russian Empire, it can be readily shown that the Russian prerequisite for success is the scrupulous avoidance of an out-and-out war, despite characteristic Russian threats of a world-wide holocaust. Thus, if the defeat of the United States should come to pass, it would not be the result of any technologic lag, inadequacy in missile production, backwardness in space exploration, deficiency in conventional arms and men, domestic inflation, or an inability to cope with a fictitious over-all economic competition posed by Moscow and its empire. Basically and ultimately, the defeat would be the consequence of a stubborn misunderstanding of the traditional nature of the enemy, how he grew to be what he is, and the cunning of his diplomatic, political, economic, and conspiratorial ways and techniques.

The above quotations aptly contrast, in essence, the spirit of Russia and that of the United States. In fact, Jefferson's words apply to the spirit of many other nations and peoples, not only in the Free World but also in the Captive World, which includes

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the majority of non-Russian nations and peoples in the Soviet Union. Yet, strangely, in this country, despite all its rich traditions of freedom, anti-colonialism, and anti-imperialism, the essential contrast between imperialist Russian totalitarianism and self-determining non-Russian nationalism eludes many, including some who are in the highest offices of our Government. In such cases, which perhaps are far more numerous than the present critical situation can tolerate, it appears that their deficiency of knowledge concerning Russia *qua* Russia is exceeded only by their lack of insight into the traditional spirituality and the living revolution of our own Nation. The Mikoyan spectacle in this country, at the beginning of this year, well exemplified this. Fortunately, however, this deplorable condition is being steadily, if slowly, overcome by contributions of thought, among which is this work.

The existing labyrinth of false preconceptions and misinformation concerning Russia and the USSR, and their relations to the United States, cannot, of course, be dissolved in short order. Its decisive dissolution requires time, patience, and persistent effort. Not only an educational but an historical process is involved. Brilliantly reflecting these requisites, this compact treatise by Dr. Smal-Stocki contributes sound thought and scholarship in a field that, in this country, seems to outdo all others in confusion, misunderstanding, and even unpardonable ignorance. It will undoubtedly serve to absterge many anserous conceptions concerning the Soviet Union and Russia.

The incapacity that has been inculcated in many scholars and writers to comprehend the empire character of the Soviet Union leads to all sorts of distorted and unrealistic observations. In the field of economics, for example, treatises are developed on the fallacious assumption that the Soviet Union is a national country parallel to the United States. In the military field, the armed forces of the USSR are erroneously viewed as nationally integrated units similar to those of Japan, Germany and other nations. In science and the arts, contributions emanating from the Soviet Union are flippantly and uncritically characterized as Russian products. In many other fields one witnesses the same basic errors. The apparent is scarcely penetrated to the

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real; the superficial is accepted in preference to the essential. In short, if the only weapons of truth and knowledge about our real adversary were our only arsenal, the fate of this country would have been sealed years ago.

With the familiar ebb and flow of public opinion it cannot be stressed too often that the United States and the entire Free World are faced with a continually accelerated ideological, political, economic, and military danger from the Soviet Union. Spurious communism, the instrument of present-day totalitarian Russian imperialism, has in a short time subjugated some 900 million people into the "Socialist Commonwealth," which is centered, of course, in Moscow. With this unprecedented base of captive resources at their disposal, the Russian colonialists have garnered the courage to announce quite frankly that they hope "to bury" us in their historic quest to establish the "World Soviet Union."

Whether one likes it or not, the record of contemporary totalitarian Russian imperialism is imposing and sweeping. It also can serve as a concrete measure of fault and incompetence on our side. By merely glancing at it, an intelligent American cannot but ask himself, "How could it have happened?" "Why has it happened?" Clearly, these Russian imperial successes in quite a few instants of historical time disclose a score of tragic failures of our foreign policy. The evidence cannot be rationalized glibly away.

Some advanced thought on the subject will enable one to realize that our current situation, punctuated by our declining political and moral prestige in the world, is ultimately the consequence of a false evaluation of the revolution in the Russian Empire and of Marxism-Leninism. The corollary of this was and is our blind refusal to recognize and support the self-determination of all the non-Russian nations that made up the old Tsarist empire and now constitute the present empire in the guise of the Soviet Union. Strange as it may seem, many scholars and students overlook the genetic test and do not even bother to ask themselves how this colossus came to be what it is. Relying on befogged analysis alone, they simply accept what exists and offer equally simple observations and conclusions. Even then,

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in many instances, the logical question as to what Russia would be today had all the non-Russian nations in Eastern Europe and Asia remained independent does not occur to them. As in all things, meaningful questions presuppose basic empirical perceptions.

It is no wonder, then, that our record in relation to Russia looks almost absurd. One needs only to ponder these aspects of it: (1) our material contribution to the salvation of the Russian Bolshevik regime in the early 20's through the American Relief Administration; (2) in the late 20's and early 30's the delivery of American "know-how" and capital by the Cyrus Eatons of that period to help build up the industrial and military potential of what has become the deadliest enemy in our history; (3) the extension of *de jure* recognition to the USSR, thus conferring the cloak of respectability upon Stalin and his minions; (4) the expenditure of billions of dollars in the 40's to save Stalin—a criminal and mass murderer, according to comrade Khrushchev himself—from annihilation by another who was a criminal and genocidist as well; (5) the diplomatic negation of our atomic monopoly and overwhelming air superiority by accommodations to further Russian expansionism in areas of our traditional friends, such as Poland, the Baltic countries, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and China; and (6) our participation in the Geneva Summit Conference, building up the international prestige of Stalin's criminal successors who are now strengthened by the sputnik, lunik, and intercontinental missiles.

This kind of record almost suggests a bent toward national suicide. With striking validity, the chapter of this past decade of U.S. foreign policy may even be titled "From Atomic Monopoly and Supreme Air Power to Surrender Research." It is doubtful that any nation in the history of mankind has lost so much in so short a time. Indeed, how does one account for this tragedy that has befallen a nation which in the struggle for moral order in the world has made two memorable and decisive contributions? The ideas of our Declaration of Independence represented the climax of mankind's battle for freedom and the Wilsonian principles were designed to protect freedom, peace, and justice for all peoples under the rule of international law. In largest meas-

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ure any sober accounting would have to consider our failure to translate these ideas and principles—the very kernel of a living revolution—into historic act. And this failure was certainly not first committed in the 40's. The roots of our failure go back to the period immediately after World War I.

Both out of ignorance as to the nature of the non-Russian revolution in the crumbling Russian Empire and out of dampened determination we failed to support these ideas and principles in their concrete application to independent White Ruthenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and several other nations that soon again were individually subverted by the imperialist successors to the Tsar. The Russian Communists built upon this failure, and our mistakes of forty years ago now threaten the very life of our own nation. What could have been a second-rate power is today, largely on the basis of its captive resources, a contender for the world. More ironical still is the fact that the sole real imperialist power in the world today has actually stolen the American banner of the idea of national self-determination and freedom and successfully parades it in Asia and Africa. The great paradox of our period is that Russia understands the significance of the force of nationalism far better than we do, despite our traditions of national independence, patriotic dedication, and personal liberty.

This treatise sheds much needed light on this force among the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Professor Smal-Stocki's life has been dedicated to the defense of the right of self-determination by all the non-Russian nations and peoples in the Soviet Union. His has been one indefatigable struggle against the new Russian imperialism and colonialism. As president of the Promethean League of all nations oppressed by Russia, he succeeded in realizing a common front of all political non-Russian émigré groups against Red Moscow and from 1924 to 1939 directed the defense of all victims of Russian aggression before the League of Nations and European public opinion. Later, Hitler's Gestapo honored him with internment for the duration of the war in Prague. Arriving in this country in 1947 and soon thereafter joining the faculty of Marquette University, Dr. Smal-Stocki resumed his mission. His lectures, articles, and

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books contain the products of rich experience seasoned by wisdom, that more than amply support his continuous warnings to the academic world and the American public on the aims and methods of the new imperial class in Moscow.

The significance of the author's scholarly work in this country is being increasingly recognized and appreciated. His contributions have deepened the understanding of countless Americans on the real nature of the enemy. His work has been devoted to the basic interest of American survival and leadership. In this fruitful activity he has been aided by many constructive associations, notably that of the Honorable Charles F. Kersten, but fundamental credit can only be assigned to the authorities of Marquette University, whose vision and wisdom helped to make this book a reality.

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

Georgetown University
National War College (1957-58)

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Preface

The contents of these pages were given in a short summary at the First Annual Round-table Conference of the Institute of Ethnic Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., and dedicated to a discussion of "Nationalism in Our Divided World," April 25-26, 1958. Here my work is published in full as an introduction and an outline to the study of the historical background and of the aspirations of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union.

The nationality problem in the Soviet Union within the sphere of American scholarship is, in part, a rather neglected field on the one hand; on the other, a systematic Russian Communist propaganda drive, supported by some white Russian imperialist émigrés, has long misled American public opinion and even partly convinced it that this problem was, in the country of "attained socialism," solved justly and satisfactorily for the non-Russian nations. This propaganda insisted that such a problem simply no longer existed since "Russia" had been transformed into the "Soviet Union" and the former victims of Russian Tsarist imperialism were enjoying as full an equality of national rights as were the Russians.

It is a tragedy that even the American Congress was misled by some research analysts of the Library of Congress in the *House Document*, NR 754, entitled *Communism in Action*, 1946, a documented study and analysis of Communism in operation in the Soviet Union.

In this study the history of the non-Russian nationalities after 1917 is suppressed, as is also the fact that the Soviet Union was built up through aggression and war. On page 94 the following information is given about the nationality problem, about which the Congress is informed that "since the Revolution Stalin himself has been closely concerned with a solution of the problem."

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Today the U.S.S.R. is a federation of 16 constituent Republics, a federation which combines strong political centralization with wide local cultural autonomy.

The Nationalities

This political centralization is balanced by a wide local cultural autonomy. There are nearly 200 ethnic groups in the U.S.S.R. and the most important of these were embittered by the Czarist policy of 'Russification' and exploitation. Before the Revolution the Bolshevik Party made wide promises of 'self-determination,' and since the Revolution Stalin himself has been closely concerned with a solution of the problem. His policy is based on cultural autonomy for definite territorial units and the economic development of the more backward regions. The more powerful units formed the constituent Republics. Within these constituent Republics other ethnic groups were given varying degrees of autonomy as autonomous Republics, autonomous provinces and national districts.

All these groups are represented in the Council of Nationalities, the second house of the Supreme Soviet, which corresponds roughly to the Senate of the United States of America. Since the 1936 Constitution the Council of Nationalities is elected directly on the basis of 25 seats for a constituent Republic, 11 for an autonomous Republic, 5 for an autonomous province, and 1 for a national district.

In reality these nationalities are not represented in the Council of Nationalities, except by the Communist renegades appointed by the Russian Communist Party. In keeping with Communist propaganda, the Communist policy here is thus placed against the background of the Tsarist policy of "Russianizing" and exploitation, creating the impression for the reader that "Russianizing" and exploitation of the non-Russian peoples were abolished by the Russian Communists. They were, to the contrary, intensified. On page 134 under the title "Freedom From Discrimination" this propagandist impression is, of course, strengthened by quotations from Hans Kohn and Corliss Lamont:

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The most strongly worded of all Soviet guarantees is article 123, which reads as follows:

'Equal rights for citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life, shall be an irrevocable law.

'Any direct or indirect limitation of these rights, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, shall be punished by law.'

This guaranty is closely related to the Soviet policy of encouraging national cultural autonomy. Within the boundaries of the Soviet Union there are said to be—

'177 distinguishable races, nationalities, and tribes, speaking some 125 different languages or dialects and practicing as many as forty different religions.'*

Almost a third of these national groups have been given political recognition. Even more marked, however, has been the positive encouragement of national cultural activity, through the development or even creation of written languages, the founding of national libraries and museums, and the fostering of national artistic expression in the theater, dance, and music. The aim has been to produce a culture 'national in form, above all in language, but supranational, Socialist or proletarian, in essence.'**

Both as to national groups and their individual members, Soviet policy does not tolerate dissent in matters of substance. The peoples of the U.S.S.R. 'enjoy full equality of

* Corliss Lamont, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946), p. 8.

** Hans Kohn, *Nationalism in the Soviet Union* (London, G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1933), p. 88.

[Hans Kohn, at present in the U.S., a distinguished anti-Communist, in Europe before World War II was an uncritical glorifier of the Communist nationality policy.]

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rights,' but it is an equality before the law, equal and uniform for them all, of the Communist Party. . . .***

Thus the application of collective responsibility and genocide toward nationalities was presented as lawful "punishment for treachery" and the complete extermination as nationalities of the Chechens and Crimean Tatars is reduced to a "mass resettlement of large numbers. . . ." The fate of the German Volga Republic three years earlier is also suppressed. All the Communist propaganda concerning "national cultural autonomy," the "fostering of national artistic expression in the theater, dance and music," "national in form, above all in language—Socialist in essence" are here uncritically presented as facts and Marr's linguistic theory, the long struggle of two decades against "Russification," is not even mentioned.

Thus it is to the sad merit of the Library of Congress that the Congress of the United States was not forewarned after World War II of the fate in store for Eastern Germany, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania—and China.

But a decade later, the same Library of Congress published a partly truthful antithesis to its earlier information. The full title speaks for itself: *The Soviet Empire: Prison House of Nations and Races.* A Study in Genocide, Discrimination, and Abuse of Power was prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress at the request of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-fifth Congress, Second session, Document No. 122, August 18, 1958.

That this study represents a great service to the country is without doubt. Credit for its publication must be given to the

*** *Ibid.*, p. 135. An extreme illustration of this point may be found in the recent official announcement of the mass resettlement in other parts of the Soviet Union of large numbers of Chechens and Crimean Tatars, inhabitants of two former autonomous Republics of the RSFSR, as punishment for treachery during the German invasion. The Republics were also deprived of their autonomy. (*New York Times,* June 27, 1946, p. 4.)

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Honorable James O. Eastland, Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

I describe the study as "partly truthful" because the analyst of Eastern European affairs, Mr. Joseph G. Whelan, partly used an unscientific and insulting terminology in this publication when referring to the non-Russian nations. Mr. Whelan terms them "Soviet national minorities" or "non-Russian minorities." This terminology obscures the whole nationality problem of the Soviet Union and degrades this international problem to an interior problem of the Soviet Union. Almost all these "minorities" are majorities in their ethnographic territory and the only real minorities there are the uninvited Russians themselves.

In addition, the study serves to introduce rather uncritically a new and misleading idea which is further elaborated by the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich. American "Sovietology" is indebted to the organization which sponsors this Institute not only for some fine publications, but also for the propaganda of "federalism," for the overnight invention of six Ukrainian parties and a "Liberation Council" (which have all already disappeared), and finally for the concept of "undecidedness" which annuls the fundamental historical facts of the independence declarations of the non-Russian nations in order to continue the idea of the "one and indivisible Russia." The newest idea is the conception that not only the non-Russian nations are oppressed by Russian Communist imperialism but the Russian nation itself.

It is my intention here to state in unmistakable terms that I see a distinction between the traditionally (for 800 years) absolutist, bloody, terroristic and undemocratic Muscovite-Russian leadership and the victimized but silent common Muscovite people. But it is a fact that Russian Communism is supported at present by millions of Russians inside the Soviet Union who are fascinated by Communist Pan-Russian imperialism and are profiting by it as "older brothers," as the English leading class once did by British imperialism. This Pan-Russian imperialism is also rather prevalent among the Russians in the United States who, instead of accepting the American principles expressed in the Declaration of Independence, are attempting to "Russianize"

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the United States. For many anti-Communist Russian political leaders in this country, the territorial conservation of the new Red Russian empire is more important than the defeat of Russian Communism, and they, often as naturalized American citizens, demand full subordination of the American foreign policy to the aim of Russian imperialism and colonialism, reserving for American democracy the honorable post of a junior co-jailer of the non-Russian nations in the new Communist prison of nationalities.

It is a fact that the entire Russian leadership, according to Toynbee, the "creative minority," and its Russified Janizaries from the non-Russian nations inside and outside the Soviet Union are aware that the introduction of democratic principles in the Soviet Union would immediately disintegrate the Red Russian empire and its whole sphere of influence, thereby liberating all the captive nations. Therefore they all agree in principle that only a Russian dictatorship can keep the new Russian empire together and by all means and ways promote the further expansion of Russian culture, civilization, especially of language, toward final Russification of the non-Russian nations and the subordination of their economic wealth to the interests of Moscow. For the preservation of the new Russian empire, of the Soviet Union, the leadership of the Russian Communist Party and of the Russian political emigration in the United States form a common front against all non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union.

It is the height of the illogical to propagate the thesis that all that was and is accomplished in the Soviet Union is not in the interest of the political and economic growth and might of the Russian nation, its imperialism and its further colonial expansion, but is simply directed against the Russian nation and its intelligentsia, which profits in the first line from this Russian imperialism, and "oppresses" both. Yes, in the first years of the revolutions, Russian scholars, professors, academicians and writers were persecuted as former pillars of the old regime, of the old ineffective Russian imperialism. The Russian Communists were convinced they could promote Russification and imperialism better and more effectively. And soon the Russian Com-

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munists, by their aggressive Russian nationalism and imperialism, attracted the leading Russian elite. In the emigration were Bunin, Gorky, Kuprin, Andreyev, Remizov, Zaitsev, Amfiteatrov, Merezhkowsky, Hippius, Balmont, Khodasievich, Viacheslav Ivanov, Averchenko, Teffy, Aleksey Tolstoy, Schmelev, Igor Severianin, Chirikov, Yushkevich, Surguchev, Sasha Cherny, Aldanov, Erenburg—they all returned.

Extremely instructive for an elucidation of the above-mentioned thesis and a good picture of the present ideological plight of the overwhelming part of the Russian émigrés is an editorial from the paper *Nasha Strana* (Argentina) No. 48, 1950:

> The genuinely Russian national emigration has honestly to recognize the present tragic situation: nobody in the world has sufficient reason for having confidence in us. Around 80% of the Russian emigration in the U.S.A. is embraced by Soviet-patriotism. Nearly one-half of the Russian generals, even 'white' generals, went over to the Soviets. Nearly the whole great emigration-literature, the journalistic publications and philosophy in one way or in another is merged with Sovietism: here are Bunin, Kuprin, Miliukov, and Kuskov and a whole list of professors who, for 30 years have preached about the evolution of the Cheka, G.P.U., N.K.V.D., M.V.D.,—the professors Ustrialov, Tatishchev, Savicky, Miliukov, Prokopovich,—we could enumerate two dozen more. Against all that, the genuinely national camp puts forward almost nothing or even absolutely nothing. As a matter of fact, for all our tragedies we have to thank our leadership,—from Markov to Lenin, from Alekseiev to Kerensky, from Gorky to Bunin, and from the monarchist Kazembek to the solidarist Boldyrev. 'As we sowed, we shall reap.'

The term "Sovietism" from the non-Russian point of view is equivalent to Russian imperialism.

These imperialistic influences of the Russian emigration, especially the menshevik, on American foreign policy are responsible together with the Professors (who failed to warn the United States against the approaching Communist danger) for the fact that "America the Invincible" became in the course of a decade

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"America the Vincible" (*see* Emmet John Hughes, *America the Vincible,* Doubleday, New York, 1959). It is frightening to realize that the entire free world along with America now faces this desperately dangerous period of the possible decline and fall of Western civilization.

For permission to use a quotation I am indebted to the Oxford University Press, New York (F. O. Matthiessen, *From the Heart of Europe,* 1948).

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CHAPTER ONE

Nationalism of the Non-Russian Nations before World War I

"Both [Russia and the U.S.A.] were free from the stigma of colonial empire building by force."

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
Crusade in Europe, 1948, p. 457.

To understand the nationalism of the non-Russian nations of the USSR, it is necessary to establish the proper historical background. Some of the present victims of Soviet Imperialism had, for a few centuries, an experience with its predecessor, the Russian Imperialism before World War I; others shared the experience for at least some decades.

As von Heidenstroem[1] computed it, the Muscovite-Russian Empire had in the year 1500, 2 million square kilometers
1600, 6.5 " " "
1700, 14.5 " " "
1800, 18.2 " " "
and in 1900, 22.2 " " "
equal to 1/6 of the surface of our planet. The Russian Empire achieved the peak of its territorial expansion in the years 1812-1815, when it stretched from Kalish in Poland to San Francisco, where the Cossacks put up landmarks to establish a boundary line against Spanish possessions.

The successes and ambitions of Russian imperialism are best evidenced in the official title of the Tsar,[2] which included with the Muscovite title, 53 of those of the submerged countries, the majority of which were distinct nations during the period from

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1700 to 1900 when the territory of the Empire increased daily by 104 square kilometers and 300 subjects. Therefore, before World War I the Russians in the Russian Empire constituted, on the basis of the census of 1897, a minority of 42.7%, the non-Russians a majority of 57.3%.

The conflict between the imperialistic nationalism of the Russian minority and the democratic nationalism of the non-Russian majority constituted the so-called "nationality problem" in the Russian Empire which, before World War I, was usually called "the prison of nationalities." This nationality problem and its ramifications in the agrarian, industrial, cultural, political and international fields became the most important cause of the revolution during the first World War.

The discussion of this nationalism of the non-Russian nations before World War I is necessary because here are to be found the very roots of the present nationalism of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Above all, one must keep in mind the fundamental thesis that the consciousness of non-Russian communal entities in the Russian Empire, as even now in the Soviet Union, was not homogeneous in quality and intensity. This consciousness was and is dependent on (a) the history of these communal entities before their annexation into the Russian Empire, (b) their fate after the annexation and (c) their collective actions against Russian imperialism in defense of their national way of life.

Thus one has to distinguish within the popular historian's "umbrella term" "nationalism" three different meanings:[3]

(1) the existence of an ethnic collectivity, of a folk or people, integrated by a common culture, especially by language and religion, including a thought-pattern of their common origin, in which they believe and share and which (ethnic collectivity) is animated by this folk-consciousness and by the will to maintain their traditional way of life;

(2) the nationality has not only folk-consciousness but also national consciousness which includes an image of a status in reference to other nationalities or nations; therefore, the nationality is basically a conflict group; it cultivates this will to a status and develops social organizations to maintain and improve it;

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(3) the nationality becomes a nation when the nationality consciousness is represented by its own sovereign state, through a series of collective sacrifices and collective manifestations of the will to have a state, a nation or to restore it if deprived by an aggressor.

Which were the non-Russian nations in the Russian Empire whose nationalism opposed the very idea of this empire? These nations, respectively nationalities, were:

(1) the Poles and Lithuanians with the history of the Jagellonian Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth which included Ukrainians and also the Belo-Ruthenians (Belo-Russians) which lasted from 1386 up to the partitions at the end of the 18th century (1772, 1793, 1795). The Commonwealth had the traditions of a constitution, an elective kingdom, and a free gentry, the tradition of Grunewald, the idea of a Catholic mission in Eastern Europe, and of the defense of Christianity against Islam. Poland after the partitions, from 1815-31, was a constitutional monarchy. Later three revolutions against Russian Tsarism (which had their repercussions in Lithuania, Belo-Ruthenia, Ukraine, even in the Caucasus), with the slogan "for your freedom and ours," the great political emigrations, the great poets (Mickiewicz, Krasinski, and Slowacki), the patriots Kosiuszko and Pulaski—made up the content of Polish nationalism. It is true that the Polish sacred idea of the resurrection of the Commonwealth (in which the Poles later became the dominant nation) was partially composed of imperial aspirations and the spurning of the aspirations of the Lithuanians, Belo-Ruthenians, and Ukrainians (who in 1648 rebelled against the Poles and reconstituted their independence). Nevertheless, the 300 years of common life and modern Polish revolutionary nationalism strongly stimulated the nationalism of all Poland's neighbors and the very idea of a free Commonwealth of free nations constituted the antithesis to Russian Tsarism in Eastern Europe.

2. The nations around the Baltic Sea in its northern part. The Latvians and the Estonians, after integration into the Russian Empire enjoyed extensive self rule from 1710-1783 and from 1795-1880. The Ingrians and Finns manifested a strong nationalism with the center around Finland which even under

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the Tsars from 1809-99 was a constitutional monarchy. They all belonged to the Scandinavian cultural sphere with strong Swedish and German influences and Hanseatic traditions, opposing with their Protestantism both Catholicism and Russian Orthodoxy. Finnish nationalism radiated from Finland into Karelia, a Finnish province, while a common nationality consciousness embraced all the nationalities of the Finno-Ugric Group [Wepps, Lapps, Mordvins, Udmurts (Votiaks), Mari (Cheremissians), Komi (Zyrians), Permians, Khanti (Ostiaks), Selkups, Mansi (Vogula), Yuraks and Tavghi (Samoyedes)].

3. The Ukrainians regard the Kievan Rus-Ukraine Kingdom as their mother country, with the Holy Wisdom (Sophia) Cathedral, the center of Christianity for whole Eastern Europe, with their own Orthodox Church subordinated to the Patriarch in Constantinople on the one hand and on the other with strong currents for a Union with Rome. The Ukrainians have a strong feeling for the continuity of their state formations: for the later Galician-Wolodymyrian Kingdom, for their participation in the Lithuanian Grand Duchy and finally for the Ukrainian Cossack Republic with the traditions of Chmelnicky, Vyhovsky, Doroshenko, Mazepa, which emphasized their separateness. After the personal Union of Ukraine with the Dynasty of Moscow in 1654 she had some self rule to 1783. Finally Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) proclaimed "the new and just law of Washington" as the ideal for Ukraine and shaped modern Ukrainian nationalism.

4. The Belo-Ruthenians (presently called officially Belo-Russians) with an old history reaching Krivian nationality consciousnesses, with the proud traditions of mediating the Kievan culture to the North and of co-founding the Lithuanian Grand Duchy and giving its literary language as a chancellery language to the Lithuanian Grand Dukes and later Polish Kings, with a moving revolutionary tradition against Russian Tsarism, of Kastus Kalinovsky and Ihnat Hryniavetski who killed Alexander II (1881).

5. The Cossacks of the Don and Kuban, with their traditions of self-government, with elected Otamans and free elected councils, and a special Cossack way of life, with fighters against Russian imperialism like Razin, Bulavin, and Pugachov on the

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Don, and on the Kuban with the traditional resistance against Moscow of the Kuban Cossacks; both Don and Kuban Cossacks had strong nationality feeling in spite of their partly Ukrainian and partly Russian languages.

6. The Moldavians, with the traditions of the Moldavian State, decidedly felt themselves to be a part of the neighboring Rumanian state and nation and as a Romance daughter-nation believed themselves to be the representatives of ancient Rome.

7. The Caucasus nations of the Georgians who have been Christians since the 4th century, and of the Armenians, who have been Christians since the 3rd century, preserved their own scripts, their own states until the 19th century as bulwarks of Christianity against Islam. After their integration into the Russian Empire, they developed an ardent anti-Russian nationalism and furnished the democratic movement against Russian absolutism with some of its best orators and leaders.

8. The Turk-Tataric cultural sphere of Islam produced the Turkestanian nation in the territory which was once the center of the Genghis-Khan Empire, with fresh traditions of the statehoods of Bokhara, Khiva, Kokand, the Turkoman country; the Azerbaijanian nation in the Caucasus, well remembering the golden age under the dynasty of Ataber-Pahliwani, was submerged by Russia at the beginning of the 19th century. The North-Caucasians (Dagestanians, Chechen, Ingush, Karachays, Balkars, Kabardians, Cherkesses) manifested a strong anti-Russian nationalism with the traditions of the Muridist revolution under Kazi-Mullah and Shamyl, the latter of whom was only captured by the Russians in 1859. Finally the Tatar nation, the former proud masters of Moscow for nearly 300 years, with the statehood traditions of Kazan and Astrakhan and a deep nationality consciousness amongst the Kara-Kalpaks, Bashkirs, Kumyks, Karachayi, Balkars, Oirots, Yakuts, Chuvashes and other related peoples, maintained national consciousness against the Russians.

Before the revolution the Muslim nations numbered approximately 25 millions and used their religion to form a common front against Moscow by convoking two Muslim Congresses (on August 15, 1905 in Nizhni Novgorod and from January 13-26, 1906

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in Petrograd). They had a great leader, the Crimean Turk Ismail Gasprinsky, who foresaw the present role of Egypt in the religious and national spheres and already in 1908 propagated the idea of organizing an All-Muslim Congress in Egypt in order to get the backing of the other Muslims for the national resistance of the Muslim nations inside the Russian Empire.[4]

9. The Sibiriaks. The Slavic emigrants into Siberia very soon developed a special nationality consciousness. They proudly called themselves Sibiriaks and under the leadership of D. Klemenc, G. Potanin, N. Jadrincev, aspired to autonomy before World War I.

10. The Germans, a rather numerous emigration in the Russian Empire, in spite of presenting a diaspora, preserved in some of their wealthy colonial territories (Volga, South Ukraine) the consciousness of a nation, continuing their traditional way of life (religions, language) inside the Russian Empire.

11. The Jews must also, despite their diaspora and lack of an ethnographic territory, be regarded in the Russian Empire as a nation welded into one block by the emotional flame of their religion.

12. The Mongolian group with the Buryat-Mongols, Kalmyks, are the heirs of the great Mongolian past.

The other ethnic entities, like the Paleo-Asiatic group and the East Asiatic group, are small and can be credited in the pre-World War I period with a nationality consciousness.

To sum up, all these nations had an image regarding the origin and existence of their nationalities; they had an (usually idealized) image of the nation's historical fate of the past, an image of their national culture in the center of which were venerated some "sacred" ideas or objects, an image of a nation's mission for the future, an image of its territory and frontiers, and an image of other nations, especially of the Russian imperial nation with which they were in open conflict. Thus all these nations had a national consciousness, their previous state-consciousness and a clear frontier consciousness of their national territory. With these was merged, around the idea of a beloved "mother country" or "fatherland," a pious, dynamic patriotism which, with its symbols, flags, emblems, national songs, poems and

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psalms, was subordinated to the supreme value: to the nation and its struggle for the resurrection of their lost freedom and states.

The love of one's nation, the vision of the future state and freedom, was among these nations before World War I linked with hate and contempt for Russian imperialism, creating deep tensions in the Empire. In the background of this nationalism was the Romantic movement, partly Freemasonry, and also a belief in "progress," in the ideas of the French Enlightenment first applied in the American Revolution, a belief in the "Rights of Man" of the French Revolution, and finally in the ideas of Socialism which assured to the non-Russian nations a final victory over Russian imperialism. Only the rich nobility of these nations, integrated into the Russian imperial nobility, sympathized with the Russian empire which preserved their class privileges.

The Russian Muscovite nationalism and imperialism developed on the basis of the "Moscow is the Third Rome" myth, forming the doctrine of the chosen people, not only in the realm of religion but also in the sphere of politics. The Mongol-Tatarian conception of the mastery of the world created by the Genghizides acquired in this myth a "Christian" formulation.

Thus evolved a Russian imperialistic Messianism, a belief in an exclusive universal mission of "Holy Russia" with the auxiliary doctrine of Pan-Slavism. This belief persisted until World War I —in spite of the revolutionary events of 1905—a divine right absolutism in the Russian Empire as a foundation of its imperialism and colonialism. It granted to all its vociferous partisans, the Union of the Russian People and the "Black Hundreds," a truly master race complex with a deep contempt for all the values of the western world. Russian liberalism was not directed against the Russian imperial idea but against absolutism.

This Russian imperialism and colonialism was basically different from the English imperialism which, in fact, was limited to the economic exploitation of a country. Russian imperialism was total and had the program of Russification in the cultural sphere, of orthodoxization in the religious sphere, and of full exploitation in the economic sphere by every means of the

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absolutist police state. Thus the Russian ruling minority conducted in fact a permanent war against its non-Russian majority, having for its national and political demands one standard answer: *derzhimordu* ("shut up").[5] No record of European imperialism can compete with that of the Muscovite-Russian in merciless brutality, even in considering the horrors of Nazism. The Muscovite-Russian governments, faced with the resistance of the non-Russian nations, used in the course of the last centuries, the following methods for the "solution" of the nationality problem in the Empire:

(1) Genocide (extermination of persons because of race, religion or nationality—doing mental or bodily harm to a member of a racial minority) was a rather old Muscovite specialty.

(2) Administrative exile, forced labor and imprisonment of the leaders of national resistance movements.

(3) Systematic persecution of non-Russian religions, confiscation of their property, and ceaseless propaganda for "unification" with Russian Orthodoxy.

(4) Systematic persecution of non-Russian languages, forbidding printing in some of these languages by excluding them from schools, press, administration, public life, theatres, etc. At the same time, the government conducted an enforced Russification of non-Russian youth through schools, press, obligatory military service, corruption, etc. The substitution of Latin letters by the Cyrillic script, used in Russian, was regarded as the first stage of "unification" with Russian. For the purposes of terminological unification, the national names of the non-Russian nations were abolished. Thus Poland became Vistulaland; Ukraine—Little Russia; Lithuania and Belo-Russia—the Western Russian Provinces. Such terms as Baltic Land and Caucasian Land were also used.

(5) Systematic persecution of all the liberal arts of the non-Russian nations, especially history, philology, linguistics; far-reaching persecution of all free research, and the creation of pseudo-scientific Russian imperialist conceptions in history, philology, linguistics, imposed by the Russian government upon schools and teaching in the empire.

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The most important pseudo-scientific conceptions of Russian imperialism were:

a) The official scheme of "Russian history," which negated the existence of separate Ukrainian and Belo-Ruthenian historical streams and integrated the histories of these nations into the Muscovite-Russian history.

b) The conception of the so-called "Proto-Russian parent language" in Slavic philology which gave Russian chauvinist politicians the arguments by semantic tricks with the terms "Russia and Russian" to deprive the Ukrainian and Belo-Ruthenian languages of their rank as independent Slavic languages and to degrade them to "dialects of Russian" which dared not be used in public life or for instruction in the schools. Thus Russian was enforced as the literary language for Ukrainians and Belo-Ruthenians. These dogmas of "unity of history and language" of the Ukrainians and Belo-Ruthenians with the Russians, became the cornerstone of Russian imperialist propaganda to preserve the "integrity and indivisibility of the Russian Empire."[6]

(6) Colonization of non-Russian ethnographic territories by Russians and giving them and their Janizary class[7] a privileged standing for the Russification of the countries.

(7) The Iron Curtain is also an old Muscovite-Russian specialty. The Russian Government established it against Western Europe by censorship over all correspondence with the outside world, by a special censorship on foreign books and by a rigorous passport policy.

(8) Supervision and control of the whole life of all non-Russian citizens inside and outside Russia by a secret police with unlimited funds for informers, provocations and even kidnapings.[8] The police terror in the non-Russian countries was far stronger than in Russia proper.

(9) In the last period (1871-1913), the Jews were made responsible for all the advances of democratic trends in the Russian Empire, and pogroms, organized by the police and its "Black Hundreds," became a favorite method of Russian absolutism in fighting Jewish nationalism, advanced by the Jewish

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Bund and later by Zionism. What it meant, anyone can grasp from the fact that in one single year (1905) 700 pogroms took place. Russia is also the cradle of the famous falsification of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," (later the chief propaganda weapon of Hitler).

This nationality problem within the Russian Empire was not only an interior problem but simultaneously an external international problem. It possessed that dual character because the Poles, the Ukrainians in Liberal Austria and in the United States, the Lithuanians in East Germany, the Rumanians in Rumania, the Turks in Turkey, and especially the Jews in Western Europe and in the United States defended their persecuted nations and mobilized the whole liberal public opinion against Russian absolutism and imperialism. During the Russo-Japanese War, Joseph Pilsudski attempted to get Japan's support for a revolution in Poland, while the American Jewish banker, Jacob Schiff,[9] by three ample loans, helped Japan to defeat the Russian Empire. During this war Schiff also financed amongst the 50,000 Russian officers and soldiers who were war prisoners in Japanese camps and who were at least 50 per cent non-Russians, a very active revolutionary propaganda through papers, pamphlets and books printed in the United States. Dr. Nicholas Russell and George Kennan[10] were in charge of this action which surely had the effect that all prisoners returned to their homes with the seeds of liberty.

The last opportunity for Russian imperialism to come to a *modus vivendi* with the non-Russian nations, and to try peaceful democratic evolution, was after the Russo-Japanese War and the revolutionary events in the first Duma. There, the Polish, Ukrainian, Tatarian, Georgian and other delegates demanded autonomy and an equal status of their languages with Russian.

In spite of the fact that the Russians and their imperial bureaucracy controlled the whole state apparatus, they won only 59.1 per cent of the seats (according to *Pervaia Gosudarstvennaia Duma* I, St. Petersburg, 1907) while the balance was gained by the non-Russians according to the following breakdown:

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Ukrainians	13.8%	Germans	0.9%
Poles	11.3%	Mordvinians	0.4%
Belo-Russians	2.9%	Bulgarians	0.2%
Jews	2.8%	Chechen	0.2%
Lithuanians	2.2%	Chuvash	0.2%
Estonians	1.9%	Kalmyks	0.2%
Tatars	1.6%	Karaites	0.2%
Latvians	1.3%	Kirghiz	0.2%
Bashkirs	0.9%	Moldavians	0.2%

Even in the second Duma the Club of the Autonomists had 210 members; the Polish Club had 46; the Ukrainian Hromada, 40; the Mohammedans, 32 (the Jews and Germans joined the Socialists or the Kadets). But Russian imperialism and absolutism soon returned to the use of the old police methods against the non-Russians.

By contributing to the outbreak of World War I, the Russian Tsarist government embarked on its last imperialistic adventure which the Tsar Nicholas II (1914) proclaimed as: "the holy war of the Slavs against the Teutons." With a few exceptions, all the leaders of Russian Socialism became overnight the most ardent Russian patriots and defenders of the Russian Empire: Burtsev, Savinkov, Breshkovskaya, Plekhanov, Buranovich, among others. One of the exceptions was Lenin in Switzerland, who formulated his *Seven Theses Against the War,* and Alexander Helphand Parvus.

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CHAPTER TWO

Nationalism during World War I and the Revolution

The non-Russian nations reacted against this united Russian imperialist front and soon put the whole nationality problem of the Russian Empire on the agenda of the World War in progress as an international European problem:

(1) The Polish Legion under command of the Socialist, Joseph Pilsudski, joined the Central Powers; they had a well organized conspiracy, based on the idealistic youth and the socialists, at their disposal in the Russian Empire.

(2) The Ukrainian Legion also joined the Central Powers. The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine issued a proclamation demanding the independence of their country. With such leading Socialist members as Andriy Zhuk, Alexander Skoropys-Yoltuchovsky, Volodymyr Doroshenko, and Petro Benzia, all of whom were Russian citizens, the Union appealed to Turkey and Talaat Pasha declared that an independent Ukraine was a war aim of Turkey.

(3) A Finnish Battalion of Volunteers also joined the Central Powers.

(4) Vienna and Berlin became the headquarters of revolutionary organizations of the other non-Russian nations: of the Georgians, Lithuanians, Azerbaijanians and Turkestanians.

(5) The Jews wholeheartedly helped the Central Powers against the Russian Empire. The leading Jewish Socialist, Alexander Parvus-Helphand, wrote a pamphlet, *In Defense of Democracy—Against Tsarism,* and for its Ukrainian edition pub-

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lished by the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, he added a special foreword (with a vehement attack on G. Plekhanov and P. W. Struve who sided in the war with the Russian government). It was addressed to the Ukrainians:

> The submerged Ukraine, fighting for its state independence, is fighting simultaneously for the liberation of all nationalities, oppressed by Tsarism, in this number included also the Muscovite people. . . . The independent Ukraine in any case will be no less democratic than Bulgaria or Serbia. The same, one can say about (independent) Poland, the Caucasus, and other nations. . . . The independence of nations and their world Union,—such will be the state construction of Socialism.[11]

(6) The revolutionary organizations of the non-Russian nations, which joined the Central Powers, demanded then that Germany and Austria Hungary duplicate under their leadership in the war prisoner camps the action of Jacob Schiff, Dr. Nicholas Russell and George Kennan.

With newspapers, pamphlets and books, the German authorities conducted a revolutionary propaganda amongst the Russians. However, special camps or barracks placed under the leadership of the proper revolutionary emissaries were organized in Germany and Austria for the Ukrainians, Poles, Georgians, Azerbaijanians and Turkestanians. Especially among the Ukrainians the action, headed by the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, was very successful and in the camps of Wetzlar, Salzwedel, Rastatt, Hannoverisch Muenden and Freistadt/O. there were finally organized the Blue and Gray Divisions for the front. A courier service with the Ukrainian center in Kiev was established through Sweden and Finland. I personally witnessed the return of some hundreds of war prisoners through the agency of the Red Cross. Suspected of being tuberculosis victims, they voluntarily fasted for the purpose of simulating illness. Actually their return was not for recuperation but for revolutionary activity in the Russian Empire.

(7) Inside the Russian Empire the defeats and retreats of

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the Russian armies produced such a military, economic, political and moral crisis that finally the awaited revolution exploded.

It was a Ukrainian regiment, the Volynian Guards Regiment, which on March 12, 1917, in Petrograd (Petersburg) mutinied and started the first or liberal phase of the revolution in the capital and the Empire. From the very beginning there occurred in fact two revolutions: a Russian one, in the Russian ethnographic territory which was political and social; the second one, in the non-Russian territories which was above all anti-Russian, national and social.

After the beginning of the revolution in Petrograd the nationalism of the non-Russian nationalities broke up the Russian Army[12] and the Russian colonial administration in the non-Russian countries. There, in the old capitals, the local political leaders, the intelligentsia, the peasants' and workers' organizations, organized national governments supported by national councils. To these, the newly formed non-Russian national army units transferred their loyalty. The governments immediately demanded of the central Government in Petrograd that they participate in all state affairs. The Ukrainian Rada (Parliament) in Kiev organized a Congress (September 21-28, 1917) of the representatives of the non-Russian nations in order to form a common front against Russian preponderance. In spite of the tensions between Petrograd and the new capitals of the non-Russian nations, the idea of a Constituent Assembly was welcome. During the period of these tensions Lenin and his followers warmly supported the Ukrainian demands for full independence. *Pravda* wrote: "not a single democrat can reject the right of Ukraine for free separation from Russia." The irresolute Provisional Government was also accused of "a real expression of the policy of Great Russian derzhimordas."[13]

November 7, 1917 brought the second phase of the revolution, the establishment of the Communist dictatorship with the proclaimed aim of the world revolution. This event created not only the Brest Litovsk Peace Treaties (Feb. 9, 1918 with Ukraine and March 3 with Soviet Russia), but as a third phase, the dissolution of the former Russian Empire into its chief ethnic components. Independent national republics were proclaimed:

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1.	Idel[14]-Ural (Tatars)	Nov. 12, 1917
2.	Finland	Dec. 6, 1917
3.	Ukraine	Jan. 22, 1918
4.	Kuban Cossacks	Feb. 16, 1918
5.	Lithuania	Feb. 16, 1918
6.	Estonia	Feb. 24, 1918
7.	Belo-Ruthenia (Belo-Russia)	March 25, 1918
8.	Don Cossacks	May 5, 1918
9.	North Caucasians	May 11, 1918
10.	Georgia	May 26, 1918
11.	Azerbaijan	May 29, 1918
12.	Armenia	May 30, 1918
13.	Poland	Nov. 11, 1918
14.	Latvia	Nov. 18, 1918
15.	The Democratic Republic of the Far East (Siberia)	April 4, 1920[15]
16.	Turkestan	April 15, 1922

In fact, parts of Turkestan, the Khorezmian People's Republic and the Bokharian People's Republic immediately after the Communist *coup d'état,* established their independence and, including the term "Soviet" into their titles as a symbol of "democracy," managed to preserve it for a while, but the national elements aspired to the Independent Turkestan.

How did the Jewish nation act in this period of the self-determination of the non-Russian nations in the Russian Empire? In some of the national republics, where Jews previously participated in the cultural and political life of the nations, they supported the newly constituted governments. But in a rather large part, because of their previous cultural Russification in the cities, the Jews turned their faces to the newly established Communist power in Petrograd. The role of Trotsky, especially as a victorious organizer of the revolution in Petrograd and, later, as the victorious leader of the Red Army fascinated the Jews despite the fact that he publicly renounced any ties with religious Jewry. That explains the rather high percentage of Jews among the Party members in the 1920's.

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The fourth phase of the revolution represented the allied intervention for the restoration of Tsarism and of the Russian Empire, the civil war, and the unsuccessful attempt of Poland under Joseph Pilsudski and Ukraine under Simon Petlura in the year 1920 to keep Russian Communism inside Russia proper. It is not my aim here to discuss the causes of the victorious expansion of the new Communist imperialism by military aggression against the officially recognized non-Russian democratic republics.[16]

In the fifth stage the Soviet Union was established on January 31, 1924 by the ratification of the Constitution of the Soviet Union with the emblem of the World Soviet Union, which is the real aim of Russian Communist imperialism.

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CHAPTER THREE

Russian Marxism and the Non-Russian Nations

After November 7, 1917, the establishment of the Russian Communist Dictatorship in Petrograd, the Russian Communist Party became the successor of the Russian Tsarist autocracy in Eastern Europe.

For an understanding of its policy regarding the non-Russian nations, background information on the attitude of Russian Marxism towards the nationality problem in the Russian Empire before the creation of the Soviet Union is also necessary.

The Russian Communist dictatorship pretends to be the offspring of Marxism. In fact, it is above all the brainchild of Michael Bakunin[17] and his revolutionary strategy. He joined Marx and Engels, attempted to take over the leadership, and was "purged" by both of the founding fathers after a very hot fight.

The real founding father of Russian Marxism is George Plekhanov (1857-1918), a well educated man and the translator of Marx's *Das Kapital* into Russian. It is of fundamental importance, which up to the present has been neglected, to investigate his attitude toward the nationality problem of the Russian Empire and to note that this early Russian Marxism was already faced with it. For the attitude of Plekhanov there is a reliable witness, L. Tikhomirov:[18]

> He (Plekhanov), literally hated any separatism (of the non-Russian nations). He treated Ukrainophilism with contempt and hostility. The Russian unifier and leveler was deeply

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> rooted in him. As a revolutionary and an émigré Plekhanov could not openly oppose the Poles who also were a revolutionary force, but he did not like the Poles, and did not respect or trust them. He stated this openly in friendly conversations. With Dragomanov[19] he was in openly hostile relations. . . . He treated Shevchenko[20] and the Ukrainophils with decidedly greater hatred than even, for instance, Katkov.[21]

It is still an unknown detail of the history of early Russian Socialism how the early Ukrainian Socialists fought against this Russian socialist imperialism. For this purpose they used the history of the Irish struggle against England and presented the Irish as an example to Ukrainians on how to fight Russian imperialism. Thus, from this period on, Ukrainian socialism became a driving force of Ukrainian nationalism, because, according to the opinion of these early Ukrainian socialists, without national liberation from Russian colonial status, no solution of economic and social problems could be considered in Ukraine. (This fundamental thesis is the root of contemporary national Communism, which denies the authority of Soviet Moscow to enforce upon communist countries the status of Soviet colonies.) Thus a close collaborator of M. Dragomanov, S. Podolinsky,[22] published in the Ukrainian Journal *Hromada, Ukrainska Chasopis,—Revue Oukrainienne,* edited by M. Dragomanov, M. Pavlyk and S. Podolinsky, Anne V. No. 1, and 2, Genève, 1881, an article: "Political Movements in England and Ireland." The article in No. 2 is completely dedicated to the struggle of Ireland against English imperialism. Wtih the greatest sympathy, the Irish liberation fight and all of its methods are presented by the author as a manual for the Ukrainians to be used against the Russians.

After his escape from Russia in 1900, Lenin, as a disciple of Plekhanov, joined the latter's group which had, of course, embraced Plekhanov's attitudes toward the non-Russian nationalities as explained above. Soon, however, he had an opportunity to show his own attitude in these matters at the second Party Congress in Brussels, and in London in 1903 where the nation-

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ality problem of the empire was represented by the Jewish question.[23] Lenin refused the Jews "a Jewish national cultural autonomy." The Jewish Bund walked out of the Congress and enabled Lenin to create his "majority" of two votes in the show of hands on the Party Constitution and thus to form his bolshevik-majority faction.

It is true that this Congress, in its Party program, accepted in article 9 "the right of all nations (*natsii*) in the state to self-determination." But this article was only taken over from the program of the Second International (1896) and only as a "declaration" and not a program point. Lenin in fact welcomed the Russification of the non-Russian nations and nationalities in the empire as a part of a world-historical tendency "to assimilate nations";[24] he even called "this process of assimilation of nations by capitalism the greatest historical process" and "one of the greatest propellers transforming capitalism into socialism," therefore the proletariat "welcomes every assimilation of nations."[25]

It is clear that Lenin was convinced that the Russian bourgeoisie with its Russification program worked essentially for Russian Socialism, for the future "one and indivisible Socialist Russia" ruled by the Russian proletariat. Consequently Lenin's real attitude toward the national rights of the non-Russian nations was brutally hostile:

> Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism even if the latter is just, irreproachable and civilized. Marxism is moving forward, ahead of every nationalism as an international idea of the amalgamation of all nations into a higher whole. . . . National culture is in general the culture of estate owners, clergy and bourgeoisie. . . . He who defends the slogans of national culture should be placed among nationalist commoners and not among Marxists. . . . The idea of national culture is bourgeois and often a clerical imposture. Our slogan remains: the international culture of democracy and of the world-wide labor movement. Only by throwing away all wild and stupid national superstitions and by melting the workers of all nationalities into a union, will the laboring class be able to oppose the capitalists and force its way through to a really better existence.[26]

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The beginning of the century was truly a dark period for all non-Russian nations in the Russian Empire. The Russian bureaucracy of the Tsar imposed on them a brutal Russification, a systematic persecution of their languages and cultures. At the same time, the socialists, Plekhanov and Lenin, living as émigrés in the "free world," furnished those pillars of Russian imperialism within Russia, the reactionaries and the liberals, the best "progressive and democratic" arguments for the Russification conducted by the Tsarist regime. The "interests of progress," and indeed even for the Russian socialists, "the interests of Russian proletarian unity" were being served by the Russification of the non-Russians. But what caused Lenin later to change his views, and before and during the beginning of the Revolution, to proclaim for the non-Russian nations the slogan "self-determination including the right of secession?"

Behind the tactical reversal of Lenin's attitude were the events of the period between 1905 and 1914. As a matter of fact, the Socialist movement in the Russian Empire disintegrated according to national lines. Besides the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolshevik and Menshevik Social Democrats, there were also the Polish Socialist Party, the Jewish Socialist Bund, the Armenian Socialist Party, later the Armenian Revolutionary Federalists (Dashnakists), the Belo-Ruthenian Socialist Hromada, the Latvian Social Democratic Labor Party, the Finnish Labor Party, the Finnish Activist-Resistance Party, the Georgian Social Democrats (Mensheviks), the Georgian Socialist Federalists (Sakartvelon), the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party, the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party, the Tatarian Socialist Revolutionary Party and the Lithuanian Socialist Democratic Labor Party.[27]

Thus socialism, in national forms of language and culture, merged intimately with the national ideas of freedom and social justice; it became in fact an expression of the nationalism of the non-Russian nations against Russian autocracy and colonialism. The Russian government quickly grasped the situation and attempted to counter it with the "Police socialism" of Sergei Zubatov in the Russian Empire but with little success in the non-Russian territories.

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On the other hand, the events in international politics influenced Lenin. He soon grasped the importance of nationalism, not only for the Russian Empire, but also for Central Europe and Asia and for the whole future of his planned "world revolution."

Only a blind man could fail to see that one of the chief factors of Russia's catastrophic defeat in the war with Japan was the "national opposition" of the non-Russian nations which later exploded in the Revolution of 1905. At the same time, all over the world the national problem started its victorious march: Austria-Hungary became the battlefield of the oppressed nationalities against the ruling German-Hungarian-Polish nations; the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire drew nearer; national independence movements embraced China, Indonesia, India, Persia and the Israelite diaspora (Zionism). These facts convinced Lenin. He wrote:

> In Eastern Europe and in Asia, the period of democratic revolutions of the bourgeoisie began in 1905. The revolution in Russia, Persia, Turkey and China, the Balkan Wars—form a chain of world events of our epoch, of our "East." In that chain of events only a blind man will fail to notice the number of democratic national movements and the tendency towards the creation of nationally independent and nationally uniform states.[28]

There can be no doubt that Lenin's change of policy toward the non-Russian nations was not dictated by political honesty or respect for their national rights. Lenin's "self-determination" was an expediency, a tactical propaganda trick to deceive these nations and to bring about the "speedy extinction of their national feelings." Therefore, Lenin immediately surrounded his "self-determination" with special "stipulations" which in fact converted the right of self-determination into its dialectical antithesis, leading them to Lenin's synthesis to the "Communist one and indivisible Russian Empire." But he fully understood the decisive importance of the nationality problem for the Russian Empire and the future revolution and grasped the danger for the Russian Empire, and for his idea of a monolithic party and its dictatorial leadership from the formula of "national-

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cultural-autonomy," advanced by Bauer (1881-1938),[29] Springer (pseudonym of Karl Renner), and supported by the Second International; he therefore sent Stalin in the year 1913, shortly before World War I, to Vienna to collect all the Austrian material for a pamphlet to combat[30] it and Stalin thus became the executor of Lenin's nationality policy.

In my opinion it is simply a waste of time to discuss the principles of Lenin's and Stalin's nationality policy and to attempt scientifically to define the real meaning of their terms "self-determination" or "right to secession." I include their constantly ambiguous terms in the rest of the political terminology of Russian Communism, of which the American Socialist, Norman Thomas, in a goodly number of speeches in substance said that "The Communist plundered the whole terminology of European liberalism, democracy and humanitarianism and changed their meaning into just the very opposite."[31] This happened with such terms as democracy, reaction, academic freedom, peace, war, aggression, liberalism, liberation and imperialism, etc. Lenin's "self-determination" or "right of secession" was the beginning of this "upside-down" language. These terms were simply used by Lenin in accordance with his propaganda advice, "Confuse your enemies," to exploit the sympathies of the non-Russian nations during the revolution or to gain their neutrality during his struggle for power in Petrograd. They were only a *means* to achieve power.

Lenin's central concern was the problem of power, how to seize it, how to hold it, how to expand it. The only truthful term and meaning in the Communist terminology is that one concerning the dictatorial power monopoly status of the Communist party. Indeed this excluded the self-determination of any non-Russian nation, since for the socialist Lenin "the nation" was a product of the bourgeois era. It is an absurd and illogical idea to discuss seriously national "self-determination granted by the Communist dictatorship," as American scholars usually do. Self-determination is an act of freedom and has as a basic prerequisite for this act the very existence of freedom, which means the abolishment of the dictatorship, whose very existence is a negation of true self-determination. Russian verbosity can never change

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the fact that dictatorship and self-determination are contradictory. Therefore I regard Lenin's original attitude toward the non-Russian nations with its program of their assimilation with the Russians as his fundamental aim. This aim changed neither in his nor his pupil's (Stalin) thinking; the later slogans of "self-determination and right of secession" were merely dialectical methods for the realization of this aim.

But Lenin as a typical member of the Russian socialist intelligentsia, which in its heart is always Russian nationalist and imperialist, expected after his victory that the nationalism of the non-Russian nations would soon die out, that the non-Russian nations would be ready in the new era of socialism for voluntary self-liquidation and that the Russian proletariat would assimilate and digest them into one Russian Soviet people. And Lenin expected that all this would happen not by the old brutal and ineffective methods of Russian *derzhimordas* but rather in a "peaceful and progressive" way. He was wrong, however: the *derzhimordas* took over the realization of this program of Russification-Sovietization.

The non-Russian nations immediately grasped Lenin's and Stalin's aims. The non-Russian communists challenged this continuation of the old Russian imperialism and created a new version of the old nationality problem inside Russian socialism-communism. Soon even the sick Lenin was aware of what was going on and in his *Letters on the National Question,* December 30-31, 1922[32] he denounced Stalin's methods. He did so not because he disagreed with Stalin's final aim—the assimilation of the non-Russian nations—but rather because he understood that these methods would harm communist prestige and the idea of world revolution in the eyes of world socialism, especially among the colonial nations of Asia and Africa. Moreover, the latter ridiculed the basic thesis that only Communism can justly solve the nationality problem in the world.

Russian Menshevik Socialism even to the present time has not moved from Plekhanov's attitudes toward the right of the non-Russian nations. Raphael Abramovich, their patriarch and leader, exiled in the United States, wrote in an article entitled *The Numeration of Enemies:* "They (the Bolsheviks) are despots

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and tyrants; they are dictators and incendiaries, they are guilty of all crimes against the people, save one: they did not dismember Russia."[33] The meaning is obvious. Russian Socialism in both its Bolshevik and Menshevik branches represented and represents the continuation of the old Russian imperialism in respect to the non-Russian nations and their rights. An exception is G. A. Alexinsky.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Russian Marxism-Leninism and the Non-Russian Nations

With this background of the history of the Russian Empire and of Russian Socialism, and taking into consideration the nationalism of the non-Russian nations, one can also notice the five periods through which these nations passed since the beginning of the revolution.

In the first period, full of idealistic optimism and the belief in the victory of justice and democracy, the non-Russian nations re-established their own governments but did not exclude a confederation or federation with their former oppressor and exploiter, Russia, on democratic principles because they were conscious of their majority. They were also aware of the fact that their soldiers and sailors had been the co-initiators of the liberal revolution in Petrograd and thus decidedly contributed to the collapse of Russian autocracy. Thus, the non-Russian nations successfully opposed the Russian "liberals" of the provisional government, who, led by Alexander Kerensky, and with the help of the Russian Mensheviks, attempted to preserve the Russian character of the new Republic as an imperial Russian inheritance.

In the second period, after the establishment of the Communist dictatorship in Petrograd, the non-Russian nations experienced a new disappointment in Russian "democracy," and intuitively grasped that there had been a return to Russian absolutism and autocracy, executed this time in a collective way by the Russian Communist dictatorship. As a result they proclaimed their independent Democratic Republics. The majority of them had socialist governments.

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A two-frontal attack was launched against the poorly equipped armies of the young non-Russian Republics during the third period. One came from the new Red Army, organized by former Tsarist general staff officers as an instrument of Russian Communist imperialism. The other was created by the Russian Tsarist Generals Denikin, Wrangel and Yudenich, who aimed at the restoration of Russian Tsarism and of the Russian Empire while supported by the victorious Entente.

In the fourth period, the majority of the non-Russian national states which, aided by partisans, still resisted Russian imperialism, attempted to join the League of Nations in Geneva. They hoped that supported by the moral prestige of this democratic world organization, they could continue their resistance against the announced program of Communist world revolution. In this way they could save their countries for democracy.

It was a new attempt to make the old nationality problem of the Russian Empire a world problem, the just and peaceful solution of which should have interested the victorious powers in Europe and Asia. However, the United States of America soon clarified its position by announcing that Wilson's principles were applicable only to Poland, Finland and Armenia. The other non-Russian nations were regarded as the "Russian people." America opposed the self-determination of Ukraine and refused to join Great Britain and France in recognizing the Ukrainian government.[34] The United States Senate, at the end of 1919, voted down President Wilson's proposal for an American mandate over Armenia and ignored the bill introduced on December 13, 1918 by Representative Patrick Hamill of Maryland demanding recognition of the right of self-determination for Ukraine. Finally, the State Department successfully blocked Ukraine's admission to the League of Nations with a special note from Under-Secretary Bainbridge Colby to the Italian Minister at Washington, Baron Camille Avezzana.[35]

The geopolitical location of Ukraine, and her occupation by the Russian Communists after the common Ukrainian-Polish War (1920) against Russian Communism, weakened the resistance of all non-Russian nations and encouraged the Communist attack on the Caucasus.

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In the fifth period, aggressive Russian Communism, and the lack of understanding of the democratic nationalism of the non-Russian nations by the Western democracies, succeeded in annihilating all the non-Russian Democratic Republics with the exception of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which profited from their strategic position between Poland and Finland. During this same period the Soviet Union was established with its Communist party and Comintern as a competitor of the League of Nations. Since that time and up to the present moment these two rival principles have fought a life and death struggle for the organization of the whole world. This struggle is waged between the Soviet Union as the nucleus of the world Soviet Union and the League of Nations and its successor, the UN, as the conception of the free world.

The United States and the other Western powers failed to understand the dynamic force of the nationalism of the non-Russian nations. The non-Russian nations' experiences with the Western democracies in these years left them with a deep disappointment, which later drove part of their émigré youth toward the "anti-communist programs" of Mussolini and Hitler.

Thus, the Communist party became the state "Soviet Union" with a total centralization of political authority based on the old Russian autocratic tradition. What was the national composition of this party? An answer will clarify its national character and also identify the national forces in operation and their real aims, hidden behind the international decorations of this "socialist state of workers and peasants." The national origin of the Communist party members in the year 1922 was:[36]

Nationality	*Number*	*% of the Membership*
Russians	270,409	72.00
Ukrainians	22,078	5.88
Jews	19,564	5.20
Latvians	9,512	2.53
Georgians	7,378	1.96
Tatars	6,534	1.72
Poles	5,649	1.50

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Belo-Russians	5,534	1.47
Kirghiz	4,964	1.32
Armenians	3,828	1.02
Germans	2,217	0.59
Uzbeks	2,043	0.59
Estonians	1,964	0.53
Ossetins	1,699	0.45
Others	12,528	3.45
	375,901	100.00

The Russians formed the overwhelming majority and together with the Russified Jews they represented nearly 80%. In reality, the situation was far worse for the non-Russian nations. Indeed, the other non-Russian Communists were Russified. Thus, in my opinion, there were only 5 per cent real non-Russian Communists and 95 per cent of Russians or Russified Janizaries. Therefore, the equation "Communism=Russia" in all non-Russian countries became an evident fact. The Communist party was virtually a *Russian* Communist party which regarded the Democratic Republics of the non-Russian nations that had socialist or left-wing governments as the counter-revolution against the Russian Communist Empire and its world revolution. Therefore, as a first step toward this world revolution it aimed at the territorial restitution of the old Russian colonial empire as the arsenal for that world revolution. Thus, the old Russian imperialism and absolutism, in the disguise of "international and world revolutionary Communism" now became the new imperial and colonial master and exploiter of the again submerged non-Russian nations.

Now let us discuss the nationality policy of this Russian Communist party with respect to the later Soviet Union government in the course of the last forty years. With slight variations regarding the different nations, dependent on being Slavic (Belo-Russians, Cossacks, Ukrainians) or non-Slavic, the non-Russian nations, generally speaking, passed through the following phases:

1. 1920-1922—full *Russification* according to the Lebed[37] theory of "two cultures": Russian Tsarism partly Russified the cities and the proletariat in the non-Russian countries; therefore,

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the Russian culture and language represented the "proletarian culture" while the native national cultures and languages of the peasant masses were termed the "bourgeois cultures." Consequently, according to Lebed, the Communist Party had to direct all its work toward "the inevitable victory" of the Russian culture as if it were *the* proletarian culture. This meant their Russification because the "future belongs to the proletarian culture," which was to be the vanguard of the world revolution.

By means of Russian Communist terror, the Lebed program was designed to create of the non-Russian nations of the former Empire a "one homogeneous Russian Soviet people," speaking Russian, and thus able to realize the past aim of its "Black Hundreds" the promoters of old Tsarist imperialism—the "Union of the Russian People." Soviet Moscow attempted to carry out this program in Ukraine by using the popularity of Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1880-1952), a famous writer and member of the Directory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic who had returned from exile and was appointed vice-premier of the Ukrainian Soviet government.

In this still independent Soviet Ukraine under Russian rule, Vynnychenko got the opportunity to witness the activities of the "Ukrainian" Soviet government. Very early here in the communist camp (1918), a strong Ukrainian "national communism" developed from three sources. The first was the exodus of two prominent Ukrainian Communists, V. Shakhray and S. Mazlakh (of Jewish descent) from the Russian Communist party and the formation of a separate Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Ukraine. They published the ideological pamphlet *To This Moment, What Is Going On In Ukraine and With Ukraine,* which accused Lenin of a betrayal of the principles of Bolshevik nationality policy. They also demanded the recognition of a separate Ukrainian Communist party and an independent Soviet Ukraine equal to Soviet Russia and the Russian Communist party. The second source was a left-wing group of the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary party, the so-called *Borotbist,* which published the paper *Borotba* (*The Struggle*). The left wing of the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Workers Party merged with them in a Ukrainian Communist Party of *Borotbists.* Thirdly,

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the rest of the left wing of the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Workers Party formed another Ukrainian Communist party. (This party was later dissolved by the Comintern in 1925.) All these parties supported the idea of complete Ukrainian independence but were ready to cooperate with Soviet Russia because the West supported the Tsarist generals.[38]

After staying a half year in the country, Vynnychenko left the Soviet Union and, speaking for all non-Russian nations, he published a public protest in the Oct. 23, 1923 issue of the Socialist journal, *Nova Doba.* This statement illustrates what happened in all the non-Russian countries under Russian Communist control:

> The policy of Russia towards the non-Russian nations of the former Tsarist Empire, especially in regard to Ukraine, is the policy of the old "one and indivisible Russia." Never has a government in a more cynical manner fooled public opinion by lies than the government of Soviet Russia. In words are proclaimed "self-determination rights for nations," and a solemn proclamation is made outside the frontiers of Ukraine, of the "independent Ukrainian Rada Republic," etc., but in deeds another policy is pursued, namely, the re-enslavement of all non-Russian countries, the rebuilding of the "one and indivisible" by a brutal Muscovite centralization, exploitation and plundering of all borderlands by the center. And that is done under the slogan of Communism.

That was the first document issued outside Communist territory of that phenomenon inside Russian Communism which is now called "National Communism"; the second is the manifesto of the Ukrainian Communist party group in exile, (*Nova Doba, ibid.*), written by Vynnychenko and sent to all European Socialist parties accusing the nationality policy of the Russian Communist party and summing it up as follows:

> The nationality policy of the Russian Communist party in Ukraine can by no means be regarded as a question of tactics, not even for a single moment. There is a deep traditional goal of that policy, apparently inherited by the Rus-

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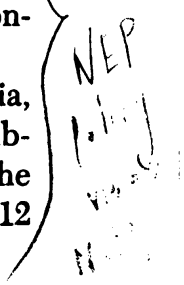
> sian Communist party from the political history of Muscovy and Russian history, a history bespattered with blood and filth. That is the traditional policy for the preservation by the Russians of the "one and indivisible Russia" at any price. We repeat: at any price and by any means. . . We must point out that for the Russian Socialists (Mensheviks) and Communists (Bolsheviks) the "Unity and indivisibility of the territory of the old Russian Empire" was and is the same holy dogma that it was for the Tsarist generals, Russian estate owners, factory owners, scholars and journalists.

In all the non-Russian countries, especially later in the Caucasus, the Georgian opposition (Filipp Makharadze, Budu Mdivani), in the Moslem countries (in Turkestan, Enver Pasha and the Basmachi Movement, later Sultan Galiev), and Belo-Russia (Prof. W. Ihnatowsky), similar tensions existed and Vynnychenko acted as an exiled Tito for all national Communists of the non-Russian nations. All these facts, especially the later situation in Georgia, alarmed Lenin and the Russian Communists deeply. The situation was so explosive that the Tenth Communist Party Congress, held March 8-16, 1921, had to accept a rather strongly worded resolution condemning the "danger of Great Russian chauvinism" in order to appease the non-Russians. Soviet Moscow was then too weak to carry out the Lebed program. Partisans were still active everywhere, the governments of the occupied non-Russian Democratic Republics which went into exile were active in Western Europe; in Russia and South Ukraine, there was a terrible famine, and the introduction of the socialist economic system resulted in a catastrophic breakdown of the industrial and agrarian production.

2. 1923-1928—*Nationalization:* Mentioned earlier were the causes which forced the Russian Communist party to change its tactics regarding the non-Russian nations while it simultaneously introduced the NEP (New Economic Policy). The changes consisted of:

(a) the non-Russian-occupied republics of Belo-Russia, Ukraine and the Federal Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Transcaucasia (after occupation of the Caucasus the Communists merged the Caucasus Republics on March 12



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1922), which were practically unified with the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (RSFSR) into a new red "Russia" by the terror of the Cheka, the Red Army, and the Russian Communist party were now transformed, together with the RSFSR, into a "Soviet Union" with a federal constitution. The constitution was a Communist propaganda instrument, but it represented a codification of the theoretical achievements of the non-Russian nations in comparison with their plight in the Russian Tsarist Empire.

It included the following concessions of the Russians to the non-Russian nations: 1) The hated name "Russia" was eliminated by the neutral term "Soviet Union," which is supposed to be a federal state with each of the Union Republics supposedly reserving the right to secede. (Simultaneously this right was annulled by the provision that only the federal government had the right to effect changes in the agreement which established the Soviet Union.) 2) A supreme legislative organ, the Congress of Soviets of the USSR, was organized on a bicameral principle, which included a chamber of nationalities, with five members from each Union, or Autonomous Republic and one member from each Autonomous Region. Thus, this chamber finally embodied a formal recognition of the statehoods of the non-Russian nations. It also was granted the same rights and functions as the chamber of the Soviets. The Congress of the Soviets of the USSR had to meet by rotation in the capitals of the four Republics, another concession and manifestation of equality for the non-Russians. But all these "rights" were in fact window-dressing because the monolithic Communist Party, in reality a Russian party, remained the monoparty of the Soviet Union and the absence of any independent judiciary excluded any initiative by the non-Russian nations.

Summing up the theoretical achievements of the non-Russian nations, one can say that some of them received Union Republic status from the Russian Communist imperialists but others were deprived of any participation in the qualification of their status; they were simply annexed into the RSFSR, which is, therefore, the old shrunken Russian Empire. Political considerations induced the Russian Communists to divide the Tatar nation into

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a couple of autonomous republics (and later the Turkestanians into five Union Republics) in order to split the dangerous bloc of some 25,000,000 Muslims.

Between 1920 and 1923 the all-Russian Central Executive Committee or the government of the RSFSR established 17 autonomous republics or regions for non-Russian ethnic groups simply "by decree" without any consultation with them or consideration of their "self-determination." The Tatar-Bashkir and Turkestan Republics, ordered to be formed in the spring of 1918, were not established; but later the following republics were formed:[39] the Autonomous Tatar Socialist Republic, the Autonomous Chuvash Region, the Karelian Workers' Commune, the Autonomous Kirghiz Socialist Soviet Republic, the Autonomous Region of the Mari People, the Autonomous Region of the Kalmyk People, the Autonomous Region of the Votiak People, the Autonomous Daghestan Socialist Soviet Republic, the Autonomous Mountain (*Gorskaia*) Socialist Soviet Republic, the Autonomous Crimean Socialist Soviet Republic, the Autonomous Mongol-Buriat Region, the United Karachaev-Cherkess Autonomous Region, the United Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Region, the Autonomous Yakut Socialist Soviet Republic, the Autonomous Region of the Oirot People, and the Cherkess (Adyghei) Autonomous Region. Consideration of the future expansion later demanded the springboards of the Karelo-Finnish Union Republic against Finland and of the Moldavian Autonomous Republic, with a Ukrainian majority inside the Ukrainian Soviet Republic in 1924, against Rumania, and of Tajikstan against Afghanistan. For propaganda reasons the Jewish Autonomous Region Biro-Bidjan was later created in Siberia.

(b) In this period the Russian Communist party permitted the so-called "nationalization." That was a real time of the "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend." Left wing national splinter groups were permitted to join the Communist party and the native intelligentsia got relative freedom in the fields of language, literature, art, philological and historical research (with the exception of Azerbaijan). A vociferous propaganda program was conducted by the Soviet government among the political emigrations outside the Soviet

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Union inviting them "to return home" to their national republics in order to help in the development of their "national cultures, national in form and socialist in content." While granting the non-Russian nations in their own "national republics" a relative cultural self-determination, Soviet Moscow concentrated its imperialistic aggression on the centralization of their whole economy under its control. Systematically, Soviet Moscow converted the non-Russian Republics into colonies exploited by the Russian nationalist state capitalism. Therefore, among non-Russian Communists, scholars, and especially among writers, a new national opposition developed against Soviet Moscow. This opposition even challenged the leadership of the Russians in literature and coined the slogan "to turn the face" toward Western Europe,[40] proclaiming at the same time an "Asiatic Renaissance."

3. 1929-1939—*Denationalization-Russification:* Soviet Moscow carefully listed all the "flowers," all leaders and organizations in the two previous phases. After the consolidation of Stalin's dictatorship and the introduction of the first Five Year Plan, it started a systematically planned general pogrom of the non-Russian nations in their own "national republics" by all the terroristic means of the Soviet police state:

(a) Mass purges of the governments of the non-Russian republics and of their Communist parties, mass purges amongst professors and teachers, mass arrest and mass exile of the national intelligentsia, liquidation of scholars, writers and journalists and liquidation of writer-organizations and theatres. The leading non-Russian Communists who honestly believed in the possibility of building up their national cultures in their national republics were liquidated, committed suicide, or simply disappeared. The leadership of the Communist parties in the non-Russian Republics was taken over by the Communist counterpart of the old *derzhimordas*. Only obedient Stalinists survived. Mass purges of Red Army officers of non-Russian descent insured the loyalty of the army. Simultaneously the persecution of all churches and religions of the non-Russians was intensified and their leaders liquidated. As Ukraine was the center of the previous phase, Soviet Moscow organized a planned famine and, according to Soviet statistics, 5,000,000 peasants died of starva-

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tion. Genocide as an instrument of policy by Soviet Moscow was at that time used against all non-Russian nations.[41]

(b) Complete subordination of the Academies of Liberal Arts and Sciences of the non-Russian nations to the Soviet Union Academy, which is Russian and which since that time has acted as an instrument of thought control over the liberal arts and sciences of the non-Russian nations. There followed the appointment of Russian overseers and censors for all scholarly activities, revision of all libraries and elimination of all non-Communist literature, and subordination of all publishing activities to Moscow. Hundreds of books of contemporary non-Russian Communist writers were pronounced "nationalist" and were destroyed.

(c) A systematic Russification of all non-Russian languages started according to N. Ya. Marr's linguistic theory which proclaimed language as a "superstructure" of the economic system. Stalin himself, at the Sixteenth Party Congress in 1930, stimulated its application with the following statement regarding the ultimate aim of Russian Communism for the non-Russian nations:

> The flourishing of national cultures and languages during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a single country is permitted, but with the purpose of preparing conditions for the dying out and amalgamation of cultures and languages into a single socialistic culture and common language when socialism achieves a victory in the whole world.

At the same time the Russian literary language and its literature were proclaimed as the "proud heritage of the Russian proletariat," as "classless," "all-national," and as "the language of the great Lenin and the Communist revolution." Therefore, this language had to be preserved in absolute purity as the future world language of the proletariat which will succeed English, the world language of Capitalism.

After the "linguistic discussions" and "public trials" of philologists, the Russian Communist party ordered:[42]

(*1*) The "unification" of all scientific terminology of the

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non-Russian languages with Russian, that is, its Russification, and the purging of their phraseology and dictionaries.

(2) Revision of orthographies, the unification of the Ukrainian and Belo-Russian with Russian; the introduction of Cyrillic script (of the so-called "Russian" alphabet) into non-Russian languages.

Thus, Russian Communism established a full linguistic dictatorship of Russian over non-Russian languages which now lost the freedom to express their peculiarities in orthography, vocabulary, phraseology and terminology. A kind of Russian "pidgin English" mixed with the non-Russian languages was being developed as a vernacular for the non-Russian nations.

(d) Soon the Russian Communists discovered "bourgeois nationalism" and "counter-revolution" in philosophy, geography, sociology, economics, and in literature and especially in history. "Rewriting" began everywhere.

Finally, the old Tsarist Russian pseudo-scientific conceptions were re-established as dogmas. In philology the conception of the "Proto-Russian unity of the Belo-Russian, Russian, and Ukrainian languages" (amongst which Russian is not equal with the others, but the "language of the older brother" and the holy language of the Communist revolution) was revived. Pokrovsky's[43] official Marxist history condemning Russian imperialism and colonialism was banned. The old Tsarist official Russian scheme of history was reintroduced and, under the editorship of Mrs. A. M. Pankratova,[44] the history of the Soviet Union, of Russian-Muscovy, and of all-Russian nations was rewritten according to the conception that Russian imperialism was the "lesser evil," was "progressive," and "beneficial" to the economic, political and cultural development of all non-Russian nations. A glorification of Ivan the Terrible and of Peter I is a peculiarity of the new Communist evaluation of Muscovite and Russian history.

The Russian Communist "political sciences" transformed the old ideas of Russian imperialism into their contemporary counterparts. Moscow is the "Third Rome" of international socialism and human progress. Only in Moscow is "true" socialism found and only Moscow is authorized to interpret Marx. Moscow

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has the "mission" to lead all nations into the "Communist age." The old contempt and hate of Western European civilization and democracy by the old Pan-Slavism and Slavophilism were slowly revived and the foundation laid for the revival of Russian Pan-Slavism itself, in fact, of Pan-Russianism, during World War II. The "just and successful solution of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union" is constantly proclaimed as the "greatest achievement of Russian communism."

(e) This whole period of the forcible Russification of the non-Russian nations was accompanied by the order to increase the compulsory teaching of Russian in all non-Russian Republics. To meet the order, a great "cultural propaganda" program was inaugurated similar to the propaganda employed in the captive countries after World War II. The universities of the non-Russian nations were forced to adopt Russian as the language of instruction for the majority of courses. In all the large cities the Communist party also published its newspapers in Russian; Russian theatres were organized for the continuation of the Russification of the cities. The non-Russian nations were forced to pay for this Russification.

This whole period was also characterized by the growing anti-Semitism of the Russian Communist party, and it became a true successor to the "Union of the Russian People" and its "Black Hundreds." The Russians realized that the Jewish national ideal of Zion was their competitor in world leadership. Zion is for the Jews the realization of the Messianic hope of humanity, consisting of many nations; but, as the prophet Isaiah said, under the leadership of the Jews and with Zion as the center. For the Russians only Moscow existed as the world center; they also regarded themselves as the leaders of that humanity which, after the victory of the Russian Communist world revolution, will come into being. All Jewish cultural achievements and centers were liquidated or persecuted because of Jewish "cosmopolitanism."

The more important details of the pogrom of the non-Russian nations by the Soviet government which the Russian Communist party accomplished between 1929 and the outbreak of World War II have been listed. In fact, it was a fulfillment of

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the Lebed program, which was later supported by two rabid Communist "Russianizers," V. A. Vaganian and I. U. Larin. What were the causes of this return to the old but "improved" methods of Russian Tsarism?

The facts are that after the establishment of the Soviet Union, the non-Russian nations did not accept their fate as final. They continued their struggle for freedom against Red Russian imperialism on two fronts: on the interior and on the exterior fronts.

In the interior we can list partisan movements in all non-Russian nations up to 1925-26; later there developed an active resistance among the communists and among the "non-party" intelligentsia, writers, journalists, scholars, teachers, and youth, and finally, political conspiracies. What happened in Ukraine is a good example. After the legal government of the Democratic Republic went into exile in the West, the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine," a conspiratorial group, was organized. This center of resistance was located in Kiev in the All-Ukrainian Academy of Liberal Arts and Sciences.[45] It included representatives of all professions. Affiliated with the Union was the Ukrainian youth organization and the Brotherhood of the Ukrainian Statehood, the directing political body. This Union was in contact with the legal government in exile through couriers. Around 1929-30 it was discovered and brought to trial in Kharkov in a monstrous process. Later, after long investigations, the finance commissar of the Soviet Union, H. Hrynko, a Ukrainian, was accused in 1938 of "wrecking, diversionist, and terrorist activities, undermining the military power of the USSR," of planning "the dismembering of USSR and severing from it Ukraine, Belo-Russia, the Central Asiatic Republics of Georgia and Armenia, and the Maritime Republic of the Far East."[46] One can observe activities similar to those in Ukraine, however, in different intensity in all the non-Russian nations. There are, for example, the Union for the Liberation of Belo-Russia, the revolutionary leadership of Osman Batyr in Kazakhstan, etc.

The exterior front of the non-Russian nations existed outside of the Soviet Union. Its purpose was to attack the new Russian

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cultural, economic and political oppression. In exile, the legal governments of their National Republics or their National Committees, the executives of socialist and democratic parties, acted. They continuously protested before the League of Nations, the governments and international congresses. Roman Smal-Stocki was charged with the organization of the Promethean League of the Moscow-oppressed nations, which established a common front of all the political emigrations and acted as a general staff for common political actions. This Promethean idea soon became the principle of all political actions among all emigrations.[47] The political emigrations also developed very active and learned institutions in Germany, Poland, and especially in Czechoslovakia where President Thomas G. Masaryk showed great sympathy for their plight. The existence of free Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, and the facts of the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian Empires encouraged the non-Russian political emigrations in their resistance and struggle against the Red Russian Empire. Thus, the resistance of the non-Russian nations inside the Soviet Union, the Cold War of their legal governments in exile, and their political emigrations outside the Soviet Union formed a unity; they represented the continuation of their struggle for true self-determination.

Consequently, at the end of the NEP period the still overwhelmingly Russian Communist party was aware that the Soviet Union was confronted with the nationality problem, the old problem of the Russian Empire in interior and foreign politics. This problem emerged as a life and death question for the dictatorship of the Russian Communist party in the Soviet Union. The Russian Communists understood that first, the non-Russian nations in their Republics were not interested in "world revolution" but in the contentment of their peasantry and workers; secondly, that they were only interested in the development of their national cultures and economics, so long forcibly retarded by Russian Tsarism, and thirdly, they desired the increase of their political power to equality with the Russians. In fact, this nationalism of the non-Russian nations undermined not only the promised "Communist world revolution" but threatened the cen-

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tralism of the Soviet Union and weakened and challenged the dictatorship and leadership of the Russians.

Faced with these facts, the Russian Communists had in Stalin the proper man to "cut the hundreds of flowers" in all non-Russian republics, to liquidate all "the schools of thought," and to return to the old program and methods of Russian imperialism because only this Russian imperialism and "Messianism" can be used as the basis for the world revolution. The nationalism of the non-Russian nations is a product of Western European and American democratic ideals and, consequently, from the Communist point of view, a counter-revolution against Russian Communism. Thus, an honest self-determination and the right to secession for the non-Russian nations would mean not only the end of the world revolution, but also of the Soviet Union in which is embodied the Russian dictatorship.

As a background for the described de-nationalization of the Soviet Republics of the non-Russian nations, the Russian Communist party used the promulgation of the so-called Stalin Constitution for the Soviet Union in the year 1936. It belongs to the technique of Russian Communist aggressions to cover their crimes by the simultaneous propaganda of what is the opposite of their real actions.

Between 1924 and 1936 the Soviet Union Constitution was amended several times, always gradually limiting the rights of the Union Republics in favor of the Russian federal government. All the special rights which these republics enjoyed, especially Ukraine, were brought to an end by Stalin's new constitution. A most vociferous propaganda both inside and outside the Soviet Union was conducted at this time. It proclaimed the "reconfirmation" of the rights of the non-Russian nations, while in fact they were reduced and the federal ties strengthened.[48]

The League of Nations and the democracies of the West, especially the United States, were well informed of what was happening in the non-Russian Republics in the Soviet Union but they offered no moral help. In the 1930's, however, the Western Powers, especially the United States and Germany, helped the Russian Communist dictatorship develop its economy

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and industry with the aid of thousands of experts and the construction of hundreds of factories thus strengthening Russian terror over the non-Russian nations.

Stalin[49] himself demonstrated the importance of the nationality problem at this time when in 1938 he deemed necessary and offered a second "interpretation" of the rights of the non-Russian nations. It was, in fact, a further revocation of all their rights. Only Russian nationalism is "proletarian"; the national feelings and aspirations of the non-Russian nations are "bourgeois" for they oppose Russification:

> The rights of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the expediency of secession of a given nation at a given moment. The party of the proletariat (the Russian Communist party) must decide the latter question quite independently in each particular case from the standpoint of interests of the social development as a whole and of the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism. . .
>
> The party of the proletariat resolutely rejects what is known as 'national cultural autonomy' under which education, etc., is removed from the competence of the state (i.e., the Russian Communist party) and placed within the competence of some kind of national diets. National cultural autonomy artificially divides the workers living in the same industrial area, according to their various 'national cultures'; in other words, it strengthens the ties between the workers and the bourgeois culture of individual nations. . .
>
> The interest of the working class demands that the workers of all the nations of Russia should have common proletarian organizations: political, trade union, educational institutions, cooperatives, and so forth. Only such common organizations of the workers of various nations will make it possible for the proletariat to wage a successful struggle against international capitalism and bourgeois nationalism.

The ascendancy of Hitler to power in 1933, his withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1934, his rearmament, and his bragging about the wealth of the Ukraine and the Caucasus,

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simply terrified Soviet Moscow and the Russian Communists. It compelled them to enter the League of Nations on September 16, 1934 in order to seek "collective security" against the rising power of the Western totalitarian dictatorships, and security against the growing resistance of the non-Russian nations inside the Soviet Union.

Why did Stalin conclude the treaty with Hitler? What are the real causes of this sensational diplomatic revolution of our time which had such far-reaching consequences for world history? Our interpretation of this fact differs basically from the usual opinions of American historians. The decisive cause was the interior and exterior pressure of the nationalism of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union against Soviet Russian imperialism. Stalin understood that Germany (with the Berlin-Rome axis and the Anti-Comintern) could, in alliance with Poland,[50] use this nationality problem against Soviet Moscow with devastating effect. The missions and propositions of Goering in Warsaw during 1935 were well known and were also evaluated in Moscow. Consequently, the nationality problem of the Soviet Union challenged its very existence and also that of the Russian Communist dictatorship. To answer the challenge the Russian Communist party and Stalin decided that only the reannexation of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, of Western Ukraine and Western Belo-Russia (with their national anti-Communist Piedmonts), the annihilation of Poland and Poland's spirit, and the occupation of Rumania could save the Soviet Union from catastrophe. Stalin and the party also decided that only Hitler was the proper man to participate in these crimes against the self-determination of the Eastern European nations. The dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and the proclamation of the short-lived independence of the Carpatho-Ukraine highlighted the decisive importance of the nationality problem for Eastern Europe.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Nationalism during and after World War II

August 23, 1939—March 5, 1953, the period up to Stalin's death, is the *climax of Russification*, which included an elaborated plan by aggressive wars, communist revolutions and systematic genocide to liquidate the nationalism of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union on the one hand, and on the other to separate them by a communized *cordon sanitaire* of captive nations from Western Europe and its influences.

In this phase Russian Communism achieved great triumphs in its war against the nationalism of the non-Russian nations as an ally of Hitler in the first period from August 23, 1939 to June 22, 1941, and in the second period as an ally of the Western democracies.

In the first period the Soviet Union started the aggression against Poland on September 28, 1939; Western Ukraine and Western Belo-Russia, with their national centers, free parties, free press, and national churches, were incorporated into the Ukrainian and Belo-Russian Soviet Republics; from September 28 to October 10, 1939, the Soviet Union concluded "Assistance Pacts" with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which led to their annexation in June, 1940; Soviet Moscow's war against Finland raged from November 30, 1939 to March 12, 1940; in July, 1940, Bessarabia and Bukovina were integrated partly into Ukraine and partly into the Moldavian Autonomous Republic, now elevated to a Union Republic as a springboard against national Rumania; for the terrorization of the Jews, a wave of anti-Semitism started, Litvinov was dismissed, and Trotsky

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assassinated; acts of genocide and mass murders were perpetrated by the Russian Communists on Ukrainians in Lviv (Lemberg) and Stanislaviv, on Rumanians in Bessarabia, and on Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians in the Baltic States; mass exiles of the intelligentsia of these nations into slave labor camps and the Katyn murders proved the real aims of Soviet Moscow. It should not be forgotten that all these acts were executed by a former member of the League of Nations in Geneva (after the attack on Finland the Soviet Union was expelled from the League on December 14, 1939) which had solemnly promised not only by the signing of the Briand-Kellogg Pact in 1929, but also by the signing of the Statutes of the League of Nations, not to resort to war. In addition, the Soviet Union contributed an historic definition of aggression for the collective security discussion in the League of Nations on September 21, 1937 which deserves to be used for an understanding of the real principles of Communist nationality policy toward the non-Russian neighboring nations:

> An aggression remains an aggression, whatever the formula beneath which it is disguised. No international principle can ever justify aggression, armed intervention, the invasion of other states, and the violation of international treaties which it implies.

In the second period of this phase Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Western democracies welcomed Stalin immediately as an ally and the United States supported the Soviet Union by the "Lend-Lease" agreement (11 billions).

The soldiers of the non-Russian nations mobilized into the Soviet Army acted again as they did in World War I; they surrendered in masses, creating such chaos that the Russians also had to follow and only on real Russian ethnographic territory, near Moscow and Leningrad, could the front be established. Again, as in World War I, some revolutionary nationalist organizations of the younger generation of the non-Russian nations, especially of the Caucasian nations, of the Turkestanians, Ukrainians, Belo-Russians, and Cossacks, joined the war hoping to use

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the German offensive for the defeat of Russian Soviet imperialism. But for Hitler, Eastern Europe was the German *Lebensraum* and his policy was directed not only against the existence of the Polish, Czech, Baltic and Ukrainian nations, but in the long run, also against the Slovaks and Belo-Russians.

The attempt of the Ukrainians, after the German occupation of Lviv (Lemberg), to proclaim a Ukrainian national government on June 30, 1941, was liquidated by the Germans, the few hundreds of volunteers later dispersed and the leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalists, A. Melnyk, St. Bandera, and M. Lebed, interned. Therefore, the Ukrainian Nationalists went underground in 1942 and soon organized the UPA (Ukrainian Partisan Army) which started partisan warfare against the Germans and later against the advancing Red Army. The Germans organized a real military cooperation with non-Russians in October, 1941 but only outside the *Lebensraum* with the Caucasian and Turkic nations[51] in a rather limited way. Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijanian, North Caucasian, Turkestanian and Tatar legions were formed, composed partly of war prisoners and partly of volunteers.

Elsewhere in the Soviet Union other nations took advantage of the war. The Karachai and Kabardinians proclaimed their independent republics. In the summer of 1942, 70,000 Cossacks went over to the Germans. It was not until the retreat started that the Germans permitted the Ukrainians to form a division which they attempted unsuccessfully to subordinate to the Russian Soviet General Vlassov. Finally, in December of 1944, they agreed to the formation of a Ukrainian National Committee, to the oath of the Ukrainian soldiers to the Ukrainian nation and to the leadership of General Pavlo Shandruk.

At the end of the war, poorly equipped and poorly armed, the following fought with Germany against Russian Communism:

Ukrainians (in all formations)	220,000
Turkestanians	110,000
Caucasians	110,000
Tatars	35,000
Lithuanians	27,000

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Latvians	30,000
Estonians	20,000
Kalmyks	15,000
Belo-Russians	10,000
Cossacks	70,000

During 1944, the reorganized Soviet Army, armed with the most modern weapons, means of transportation and war materials supplied by the United States, was aided by the Allied Armies' establishment of a second front in June in Western Europe. It was at this time that the Soviet Army forced the Germans and their voluntary non-Russian formations to retreat gradually until the overwhelming air superiority of the United States forced Germany to surrender. Thus this miscalculated attempt by the non-Russian nations to regain their liberty in this conflict of world powers ended in a horrible tragedy.

Soviet Moscow, during and after the German surrender, took all these facts of hostility against Russia into account and immediately reacted by giving concessions to the non-Russian nations, especially to the Ukrainians and Belo-Russians. The Soviet broadcasts in Ukrainian, Belo-Russian and Caucasian languages became simply nationalistic. The Chmelnicky decoration for the Ukrainians in the army was established. Soon the Soviet Union signed the Atlantic Charter containing new hopes for the non-Russian nations. Stalin also signed the Statutes of the United Nations and subsequently he introduced the Ukraine and Belo-Russia as equal members into the United Nations. Before that happened, however, special amendments had to be made to the Constitution which granted the Union Republics the right to their own Ministries of Foreign Affairs[52] and to have their own army.[53] Later the Union Republics received their own Republic(an) flags, and finally in 1950 came the revocation of Marr's linguistic theory by Stalin himself, who declared it to be nonsense. The last was decreed not out of respect for the non-Russian languages in the Union but because this theory constituted a very great insult to the Chinese —China had just been taken over by the Communists.

All these concessions to the non-Russian nations were in keep-

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ing with the usual Russian Communist techniques; they were verbal concessions to conceal new crimes. The unadorned facts behind this smoke screen during and after the war for the non-Russian nations were:

(a) *Continuation of genocide:* Stalin demanded, and the allies promised, even if force were necessary, the return of all the political refugees and enemies of Russian Communist imperialism from Central Europe to the Soviet Union. Only a last minute appeal by the Pope partially saved them. The whole Cossack military force, however, after getting the promise of asylum from the English and after surrendering their weapons to the English Army were forcibly handed over by the English to the Russians along with the other refugees, including wives and children. Approximately 200,000 human beings were massacred by Russian tanks and machine guns. This horrible apocalyptic occurrence has produced a vast amount of literature. (Cf. Josef Mackiewicz, *Tragoedie an der Drau,* Muenchen, 1957.)

During or after the war these nations were liquidated[54] as nations and their Republics abolished:

the Volga Germans	606,000
the Crimean Tatars	259,000
the Kalmyks	201,000
the Chechen-Ingush	697,000
the Kabardino-Balkars	359,000
the Karachai	150,000

The Jews as a nation were also liquidated in fact and only remnants of their culture still exist. Biro-Bidjan is a fiction.

(b) Genocide was also continued in the new territories of the Baltic States which the Soviet Union finally annexed. Some 200,000 victims are accounted for as murdered or as exiled from among the native intelligentsia and peasants. In Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia, Volynia, North Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine) and in Belo-Russia the population suffered a loss of at least 200,000 murdered and exiled persons. All scientific organizations, the whole economy and cultural life, were sovietized and inte-

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grated into the colonial status of the respective Union Republics. The Ukrainian Catholic church was liquidated as was the Ukrainian Orthodox church. The Rumanian parts of Bessarabia were united with the Autonomous Moldavian Republic which was elevated to the status of a Union Republic.

(c) The number of non-Russian nations under Russian Communism's domination was increased after World War II by new victims of Russian imperialism: Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Mongolia, China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Tibet.

At the peak of this expansion of Soviet Russian imperialism, Stalin died on March 5, 1953, before he was able to start new persecutions of the Jews, initiated by the fabrication of the "Jewish doctor plot."

5. From 1953 to the present incorporates the last phase of the Russian Communist nationality policy: "Let the hundreds of buds of the non-Russian nations germinate a little" under the slogans of the "Leninist friendship of nations" and "proletarian internationalism." During this final period we enter into a new phase where the Russian Communist dictatorship attempts, by small concessions, to ease its growing internal tensions with the non-Russian nations.

What are the facts? A struggle soon started among the collective leadership of Stalin's heirs, and Beria attempted to use the non-Russian nations as a springboard to power. That put the old nationality problem immediately back on the agenda of Soviet Union politics. The twentieth Congress of the Russian Communist Party was convoked on February 24-25, 1956. It was at this Congress that Khrushchev, the lifelong close collaborator of Stalin, delivered his famous speech containing a confession of Stalin's crimes and some of the most important arguments against Stalin and the Stalinists.[55] These included:

> Comrades, let us reach for some other facts. The Soviet Union is justly considered as the model of a multinational state because we have in practice assured the equality and friendship of all nations which live in our great Fatherland.

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> All the more monstrous are the acts whose initiator was Stalin and which are rude violations of the basic Leninist principles of the nationality policy of the Soviet state. We refer to the mass deportations from their native places of whole nations, together with all Communists and Komsomols without any exception; this deportation action was not dictated by any military considerations.
>
> Thus, already at the end of 1943, when there occurred a permanent break-through at the fronts of the Great Patriotic War benefiting the Soviet Union, a decision was taken and executed concerning the deportation of all the Karachai from the lands in which they lived.
>
> In the same period, at the end of December 1943, the same lot befell the whole population of the Autonomous Kalmyk Republic. In March 1944, all the Chechen and Ingush peoples were deported and the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic was liquidated. In April 1944, all Balkars were deported to faraway places from the territory of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Republic and the Republic itself was renamed the Autonomous Kabardian Republic.
>
> The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also. (Laughter and animation in the hall.)

Stalin's successors apparently evaluated the consequences of his nationality policy before and during the war, and the Russians, feeling the hate of the non-Russian nations, were ready for some concessions. The concessions were rather small, but significant.

The Russians, the master race, elevated by the Communist party to an "icon" to all non-Russian nations—for which was demanded continuous worship of their genius, of past and present achievements, of the Russians as the "older brother" or, eventually, "father"—now being somewhat demoted, behaved more like the *primus inter pares*, on the one hand; on the other hand, the old name *Rossiya* was returned to the RSFSR and since July 1, 1956, the daily *Sovetskaya Rossiya* has been offi-

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cially published. *Rossiya* was also given as a name to the largest Soviet jetliner, a double decker. The Russian Communists, apparently, wish to stress that the RSFSR is the successor state to Tsarist Russia. After forty years of the exploitation of its colonial nations, it is economically the most powerful state within the Soviet Union.

The non-Russian nations inside the RSFSR got some real concessions from the Russians: universities were founded in Kabarda (Nalchik), Daghestan (Makhach Kala), Mordovia (Saransk), and Yakutsk. In some countries, newspapers appearing in national languages are no longer duplicated by Russian editions. Political leaders and writers—some of whom were murdered—are being "rehabilitated," including national Communists. The Germans, Chechen, Ingush, Balkars, Crimean Tatars, Kalmyks, and Karachais are "rehabilitated" and have re-emerged as ethnic entities. The Germans, still between 750,000 and one million in population, were permitted to have two German papers—*Arbeit* and *Neues Leben*—and a radio transmission in German (for propaganda purposes directed to East and West Germany). Some religious activities are also tolerated.

The other nations were permitted to return to their old homelands. Only to the Jews as a group, in spite of personal rehabilitation in some cases, the rights of a national entity are still not granted. According to *Time,* May 5, 1958, p. 22, "the 3,000,000 Jews who still live in Russia are warned to merge themselves completely in Soviet society (while still carrying documents designating them as Jews) and are discouraged from their own cultural identity." They are regarded as "Russified" along with some 7,000,000 Ukrainians in the RSFSR, who are looked upon as the primary object of forced Russification. These Ukrainians are without schools, books and newspapers in their own language, in spite of the fact that the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is forced to publish some 250 Russian papers inside Ukraine for the Russian minority.

But the Ukrainian minorities in Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia are very energetically "protected" by Soviet Moscow. The Russian Communists sincerely recognized the success of

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Russification in the Karelo-Finnish Union Republic which has a Russian majority, and was therefore demoted to a Karelian Autonomous Republic inside the RSFSR. Besides, they are also openly determined that such nationalities as the Koryaks in the Far North, or the peoples of the Altai, like the Khakassians, who had an Autonomous Region, will be Russified. Gypsies were warned either to settle down or face exile and forced labor.[56]

The concessions of the Russian Communist party to the non-Russian Union Republics are along the same lines. Former national communists or writers—among them were some who were executed or committed suicide, like Skrypnyk—are being rehabilitated and some of their publications are reappearing. Many exiled persons after ten years of slave labor, got permission to return to their homelands. The national languages are used more in official institutions and it is no longer so forcefully stressed that a good Communist must speak Russian only both publicly and at home. Since 1956, Turkish has been introduced in Azerbaijan as the official language of the Republic. The status of the Uzbek language has been improved and is to be taught even in Russian schools in the Republic. The Gagauz in the Moldavian Republic also have permission to use their own language.[57]

The Russians are also showing more respect for the historical and cultural heritage of the non-Russian nations. Therefore, the "rewriting" of the previously "rewritten" history has started. The official historian, Mrs. A. M. Pankratova,[58] admitted:

> "Our textbooks and works on the history of the United Soviet peoples devote too little attention to the colonization policy of the Tsarist autocracy. A number of authors who rightly emphasize the progressive importance of the annexation of these republics by Russia devote too little attention to the reverse side of the matter. It was a heavy yoke that Tsarism placed upon nationalities. . . . It is common knowledge that Lenin called Tsarist Russia "the prison of nationalities." It remained for the October Revolution to destroy this prison. . . . Authors who, in opposition to Marx, Engels and

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> Lenin, describe the aggressive wars of Tsarist Russia as wars for a just cause are proceeding in the wrong direction. . . ."

The shrewd Armenian, A. I. Mikoyan,[59] denounced the posthumous vilification of the "Ukrainian Communist Rebels," executed by Stalin, as a plot by Russian historiographers and challenged them:

> "I believe that Ukrainian historians will be better qualified than historians from Moscow to write the history of the Ukrainian socialist state."

Stalin's *Short Course of the History of the Communist Party* is simply denounced as a "collection of dead dogmas."[60] A. M. Pikman[61] attacked the efforts to present Shamyl's fight as reactionary or as the work of foreign agents (in the article *"On the Struggle of Caucasian Mountain Dwellers Against Tsarist Colonizers"*).

As a further result, the famous Kirghiz epic *Manas* and the Mongol epic *Geser* have been "rehabilitated" and permitted to be published. Several books on the history of the Cossacks and their folklore have also been published. The persecution of religion on the whole has decreased; in some republics like Armenia, the Patriarch, Vazgeni I, has since 1955 enjoyed all privileges due to his position, a counteraction against the Catholic Armenian Cardinal in Rome, Gregory Peter XV Agagianian. But no concessions were made to the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches nor to the churches in Belo-Russia. The Ukrainian Soviet Republic gained in prestige by the appointment of Ukrainian Communists to the All-Union party or to key state positions. Since the great celebrations of the 300th aniversary of the personal union of Ukraine with the dynasty of the Moscow Tsars (1654), officially presented as the "reunion" of Ukraine with Russia, Ukraine has had the status of a "junior partner."

Crimea was transferred in 1954 from the RSFSR to Ukraine and a Ukrainian was appointed secretary of the Communist

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party in Ukraine for the first time. Such "union" celebrations are increasingly becoming a Communist technique to combat "separatism." Celebrations were also organized in the Cherkess provinces, in Kabarda, and in Bashkiria to honor the 400th centenary of the protectorate of the Muscovite Tsar, with the Russian Communist party now acting as successor. The Russian Communists do not attempt to rectify the successes of the Stalinist "Russification"; on the contrary, the Russification is systematically implemented; for instance, in Kazakhstan, which, by forced colonization was made multi-national with Russian as the official language, only one-third of the pupils are receiving instruction in the native language;[62] Russian schools are enforced for all other nations. Thus this state is on its way to share the fate of the Karelo-Finnish Republic. The recent decentralization and "regionalization" of industry apparently strengthened the prestige of the Union Republics (1957).

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CHAPTER SIX

Nationalism of the Non-Russian Nations as a Current Soviet Problem

In spite of all the present small mitigations in favor of the rights of the non-Russian nations, the trained observer is, after forty years of experiences with Russian Soviet imperialism, very suspicious and evaluates them in the light of:

(a) the basic tenet of Lenin,[63] which is that "the strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism must be combined with the ability to make all necessary practical compromises, to tack, to make agreements, zigzags, retreats and so on. . . ."

(b) and on the basis of facts from which one deduces that a clear plan of Russian imperialism is being systematically realized behind the "concessions." This plan includes:

1) the amalgamation of the Slavic nations with the Russians. The Cossacks as a nation have been partly annihilated and its remnants are in the underground. All the Russian dogmas in philology and history regarding the Ukrainians and Belo-Russians are further enforced. To temper the publicity of these dogmas, the Ukrainians got permission to publish an Ukrainian encyclopaedia, which was due in 1932. The Russification of the Belo-Russian language, in spite of some concessions in orthography, is still being carried on.[64] The classics of literature appear in ideologically falsified editions while at the same time the Russian classics receive scholarly editing in accordance with the originals. All ideological ties with Western Europe are eliminated and the face of Ukraine, and Belo-Russia, is turned toward Mos-

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cow. This amalgamation of the Ukrainians and the Belo-Russians with the Russians is also supported by the official Orthodox church of the Moscow Patriarch. Significantly, no Ukrainian nor Belo-Russian text of the Bible has been published. The official Neo-Pan-Slavism of the Russian Communists, which also plays an important role in their propaganda in all the captive Slavic nations, further supports this amalgamation.

2) in the Baltic countries, the destruction of all cultural achievements of the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians is continuing; the professional intelligentsia are often forced to work outside their homelands; the Russian garrisons, with Russian schools and Russian publications, serve in the gradual Russification of these countries. The aim of the Russians is clear: to lower these nations to the cultural level of the other victims of Soviet Moscow.

3) the main attack is directed against the Muslim danger which disturbed Russian imperialism in the last decades through Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turanism, and Pan-Turkism. The Tatar Republics and Kazakhstan will soon be lost to the Muslims and will contain a Slavic majority. Turkmenistan and Kirghizia are the next victims. This Russification is carried out behind the smoke screen of the Soviet "liberation" actions in the Near East and Russian sympathy for Arab nationalism.

But nevertheless, Soviet Russian imperialism officially initiated this "new phase" of concessions in its nationality policy, and one must explain the causes which forced Stalin's successors to grant them to the non-Russian nations. The causes are:

(a) the Stalin program to surround the Soviet Union and her interior nationality problem by a wall of controlled and "denationalized" captive nations intended to weaken the anti-Russian nationalism of the non-Russian nations inside the Soviet Union became a boomerang which hit Russian Communism severely. On the contrary, these new victims, the captive countries, only intensified the nationality problem and now the nationalism of the captive nations and of the non-Russian nations inside the Soviet Union forms one gigantic nationality problem confronting the Kremlin in interior and foreign policy. The problem was aggravated by the mutiny of Tito, whom Stalin

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could not master. As a result, Titoism spread, especially to Poland, Czechoslovakia partly and especially Hungary which caused Communism in these countries to begin to disintegrate. A chain of revolutions soon swept across the captive countries of East Germany, Poland and Hungary. Soviet Moscow decided to stop any further continuation of this chain of rebellions by a new act of genocide, the bloody massacre of the Hungarians. This atrocity produced a great new political emigration to the West and action in the UN condemning Soviet atrocities. However, the fact remains on record that during the fighting in Budapest, some Ukrainian Soviet soldiers joined the Hungarians.

Khrushchev's visit to Tito in the meantime was an attempt to restore the monolith of communism. He was also forced to compromise with Gomulka. Thus, it is on record that the brutal Russian dictatorship was compelled to respect to some degree the self-determination, in national communism, of the non-Russian captive nations. All these events had not only their repercussions and evaluations among the Russian Communists but also among the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union.

(b) the Russians also noticed that the non-Russian nations do not now, nor did they between the two World Wars, regard their fate as final and that, in fact, they continue their struggle for self-determination and liberty on two fronts, inside and outside the Soviet Union, which, supplementing one another, form a whole.

After Stalin's death there were revolts in Soviet Union slave labor camps, filled with at least 80% non-Russians. Then followed disturbances at the Soviet universities in Moscow and Leningrad which have a considerable number of non-Russian students. "Bourgeois nationalism" is strong in all non-Russian countries and the Communist party press continuously fights it, and again in Ukraine four nationalists[65] were executed for "crimes." The demonstration in Tiflis after the de-canonization of Stalin in March, 1956, had a Georgian national and anti-Russian character. The Armenian demonstrations in the Erivan Stadium in October, 1955, were also national and anti-Russian. There surely still exist some nationalists in the Central Asiatic

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Republics. An editorial in *Pravda* No. 44, February 13, 1956, p. 3, mentions a "battle" against a "gang of saboteurs." The peasants continue their passive resistance on the food producing front. The returned exiles from the slave labor camps, the relatives of the liquidated national Communists, the intelligentsia and peasants swell the oppositional mood. All these posthumous "rehabilitations" and Khrushchev's speech deprived Russian Communism of its halo of infallibility and gave new strength to some degree, to free expressions of public opinion.

Outside the Soviet Union, the political emigrations of the non-Russian nations have accumulated splendid achievements. They have very easily adapted themselves to their new homelands; the peasants, unskilled and skilled workers, and professionals have found jobs; by voluntary contributions they have preserved their churches, political organizations, youth and women's societies, and learned institutions. Simultaneously, they have organized open political actions—viewed by the public, its press, and the parliaments of their newly adopted countries—in defense of freedom for their old mother countries.

Especially impressive to Soviet Moscow, forcing Russian Communism to react, are all the activities of the newest emigrations in the United States, including the speeches of the congressmen and senators, the prayers of their clergymen in Congress on the dates of their proclamations of independence, the marking of their national days by eulogies by governors and mayors; the television and radio programs, and the large number of published books. The activities taking place in Canada, Great Britain, France and Germany are also disturbing to Soviet Moscow. The old Promethean idea of the common front is alive. The fight for all victims of Russian imperialism is being continued on a world scale by the ABN (Anti-Communist Block of Nations) organization and by the Quarterly *Prologue*, dedicated to problems of independence and amity among nations. The activities of the Kersten Commission of the 83rd Congress (Communist Aggression Investigation), the speeches of Congressman Michael Feighan of Ohio, the publications of Professors Clarence Manning of Columbia University and James Burnham of New York

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University, etc., have forced Moscow to a widely planned defense, to the "return home" action of the General Mikhailov Committee, and to dispatching time bomb parcels to prominent leaders in Germany.

(c) a third element, since Stalin's death, has entered into this fight against Russian Communist imperialism inside the Republics of the non-Russian nations. In spite of all persecutions and restrictions, a new intelligentsia from the peasantry and the working class has come into being, whose members have a national feeling toward their respective republics. A large part of the youth who were mobilized saw foreign countries and after returning home brought back some facts for comparison with Soviet realities. Thus, a remarkable transformation is going on in the ruling Communist class of the non-Russian Republics, the so-called Janizaries. On the one hand they are under the pressure of the masses to act as their proper national governments; on the other, even Moscow now demands of them that they underscore their national descent more strongly, in order again to pretend that the nationality problem in the Soviet Union is "solved." In any case, these ruling elite in the non-Russian Republics are being permeated gradually with the nationalism of their own nations and are realizing that, in reality, their present privileges and future increases in those privileges depend upon this local nationalism. The considerable number of non-Russian scientists who contributed to the Sputnik triumphs of Soviet Moscow also urged concessions to their nations (Kapitsa is Ukrainian, Ambartsunian—Armenian, Landau—Jew, etc. Among the three physicists awarded the Nobel prize, two, Tamm and Frank, are of non-Russian descent.)

Thus the struggle for true self-determination of the non-Russian nations against Russian Communism is continuing with undiminished force. But it would be a mistake to consider any of these slight concessions to the non-Russian nations as a real change of heart for Moscow.

Russian Communist imperialism urgently needs only an "internal change of climate" to start the "cultural exchange" with the free world in order to deprive the non-Russian nations of the

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moral support of the free world in their resistance against Soviet Moscow. To weaken its political emigrations on the one hand, and on the other to conduct without interference its "national liberation movements" in Asia and in Africa, is the Soviet aim.

Both camps, Russian Communist imperialism and the nationalism of the non-Russian nations, have a clear-cut ideology for the present and future. Let us survey this ideological battlefront.

First, one must identify the present Soviet imperialism. What is it basically? It is unscientific to disregard and to silence the opinion of the late great Russian philosopher, Nicholas Berdyaev that:

> Bolshevism is much more traditional (Russian) than is commonly supposed. It agreed with the distinctive character of the Russian historical process. There had taken place a Russification and orientalizing of Marxism.[66]
>
> Bolshevism . . . is much more faithful to certain primordial Russian traditions, to the Russian methods of government and control by coercion. This was predetermined by the whole course of Russian history, but also by the feebleness of creative spiritual power amongst us (Russians). Communism was the inevitable fate of Russia, the inward moment of the destiny of the Russian people.[67]
>
> The very internationalism of the Russian Communist revolution is purely Russian and national . . .[68]
>
> The Slavophiles were founders of that nationalism so characteristic of Russian nineteenth century thought. . . . The Slavophiles were warm defenders of the Commune, which they regarded as organic and as the original Russian structure of economic life. . . . They were decided opponents of the ideas of the Roman Law of Property.[69]
>
> Lenin himself was a typical Russian. In his characteristic face there was something Russo-Mongolian. In Lenin's character there were typical Russian traits, and those not especially of the intelligentsia, but of the Russian people, simplicity, boorishness, thought of practical kind, a disposition to nihilist cynicism on moral grounds. . . . In him character-

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> istics of the Russian sectarian intelligentsia existed side by side with characteristics of the Russians who made and shaped the Russian state.[70]
>
> Lenin insisted upon the original and distinctly national character of the Russian revolution . . . Lenin was an imperialist . . . his whole thought was imperialistic, despotic.[71]
>
> Lenin was an anti-humanist and permitted every sort of cruelty. In this he was a man of the new epoch, an epoch not only of Communist, but also of a fascist revolution. Mussolini and Hitler are to imitate him. Stalin will represent the final type of dictator-leader. Leninism is not, of course, fascism, but Stalinism is already very near fascism.[72]
>
> This is indeed the dictatorship of a general outlook for which Lenin had prepared. He was able to do this only because he combined in himself two traditions—the tradition of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia in its most Maximalist tendency and the tradition of Russian government in its most despotic aspect. However paradoxical it may sound, bolshevism is still the third appearance of Russian autocratic imperialism, its first appearance being the Muscovite Tsardom and its second, the Petrine Empire . . . Bolshevism entered into Russian life as a power which was militarized in the highest degree, but the old Russian state also had always been militarized.[73]

The final aim of Russian Communism—in its contemporary appearance that only conceals the old Russian imperialism—is the World Soviet Union under Russian leadership and with the Russian language as the world language of the Communist age. Its instruments are Marxism-Leninism, with its accompanying dictatorship and terror, including methods of torture, thought control and brain-washing, as well as the social and national "engineering" for the splitting, dissolving and degradation of all non-Russian nations into propertyless ethnic proletarian masses from whose consciousness will be erased by a system of political as well as economic slavery all previous nationality or nation consciousness. Replacing this consciousness are the Russian "sacred ideas" in Communist international forms for the develop-

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ment of the new "Soviet man" and the new "Soviet civilization," which will be Russian, as the end product of the old aggressive Russian imperialism and Messianism. This final aim of Russian Communism has not changed during the past forty years; only tactics have "zigzagged" to fit in with changing circumstances. Therefore, the "amalgamation" which means Russification of all non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union into a "Soviet people," "one and indivisible," is the precondition of the further advance of the Russian Communist world revolution.

Consequently, the nationality problem was and is the fundamental problem of interior and foreign politics of the Russian Communist party and of the state it owns, the Soviet Union. The nationality question inside the Soviet Union is pregnant with many problems which the Russian Communist *derzhimordas* simply silence. Inside the RSFSR, the tensions are growing. What was the Russian's source of authority in qualifying one nation as being sufficiently dignified for an autonomous republic while discriminating against another by granting it an autonomous region only? What possible legal procedure for nations or nationalities exists for the "promotion" of an autonomous region into an autonomous republic and of an autonomous republic into a union republic? Or, how can nations which are closely related but artificially divided merge their republics?

There are other pressing problems on the union and international level. The record of the Communist policy towards the non-Russian nations for the last forty years is the best demonstration and explanation of the term "coexistence" as the Russians use it for the UN. Besides, why are Belo-Russia and Ukraine members of the UN only, while the balance of the Soviet Union is represented, in fact, by the Russians? The Soviet Union voted small Israel into the UN but excluded from membership such old members of the League of Nations as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and also silently excluded the proud Caucasian nations and the Muslim nations. Why does this discrimination against all non-Slavic nations exist? The Ukrainians and Belo-Russians surely do not agree with this policy which bars their fellow non-Russian nations.

How long can the Russian *derzhimordas* disregard these na-

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tionality problems? The Russian Communist imperialists wish to reduce all the national names of the union and autonomous republics to mere "titles" of the new Russian Soviet empire, to degrade them to the same function that they had under the title of the Russian Tsar. The non-Russian nations, however, have been fighting these past forty years in order to fill the constitutional framework of the union and autonomous republics with real national "content" according to their cultural traditions.

Therefore, the other camp, the camp of the non-Russian nations, opposes this new Russian Soviet imperialism based on the systematic use of genocide and directed toward the gradual annihilation of the non-Russian nations. The non-Russian nations oppose:

(a) the Russian Communist dictatorship with the idea of true democracy;

(b) Russian political, cultural and economic imperialism and colonialism with the idea of re-establishing their national democratic republics in which their true self-determination will be realized. They oppose particularly the continuous economic exploitation of their countries which are forced to pay half of their income, not only for the beautification of the "show window," Moscow, but also for Russian Communist propaganda actions in the world, and the whole Russian militarism.[74] The non-Russian youth, trained in Marxism, is deeply aware that there are two classes of nations in the Soviet Union. One represents the Russian exploiter, and to the second belong the exploited non-Russian nations. To fight against this exploitation is not only "national" but even Marxist duty. Thus, there is an element of "class struggle" in the "no compromise" fight of the non-Russian nations against Russian imperialism.

(c) The Russian Communist idea that lies behind the slogan, "Soviet civilization with the Soviet man," is tantamount to the creation of a nationalistic Russian "cultural sphere" and is opposed by the non-Russian nations that have their own different cultural orientations, resulting from century-long traditions. The Baltic nations belong to the Scandinavian cultural sphere, and they, together with the Belo-Russians and Ukrainians, regard

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themselves as a part of Central Europe and of the future United States of Europe. The Muslim nations look toward the Muslim World, and North Asia belongs to the overpopulated Asiatic nations. As British imperialism, in spite of its great cultural contributions, finally retreated from India and its Asiatic colonies, there is no reason why Russian imperialism, with its barbaric record in Asia, should not also retreat back into Muscovy-Russia, returning the vast Asiatic colonial territories to their Asiatic nations and nationalities.

(d) The Russian idea (by "amalgamation" of the non-Russian nations with the Russians) of creating the future proletarian mankind, speaking Russian (the literary language formed by the Russian bourgeoisie), is opposed by the non-Russians, with the conception of the great Slavic statesman and philosopher, Thomas G. Masaryk. Masaryk maintained that mankind, as a whole, is not either above or against specific nations or nationalities, but that nations, big and small, their cultures and languages, are the natural organs of mankind as its integral part.

(e) The non-Russian nations also oppose the ideas of Russian Soviet imperialism from an historic-philosophic point of view, so excellently formulated by Oscar Halecki.[75] That point of view contends that European and world history, since the Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and Christian times and up to the present, attempted to solve only two problems. The first was the problem of freedom, freedom of the individual, of the people, nation, conscience and religion. The second was the question of how to protect this freedom by a supernational organization (to speak in present terminology, by "collective security"), like the former Holy Roman Empire and, in our times, the League of Nations in Geneva and the United Nations. All of the non-Russian nations believe in the idea of the United Nations organization despite its tragic mistake in tolerating Soviet Union membership.

Thus, the non-Russian nations believe that they are in keeping with the logic of the historical process. Their nationalism is the national and social liberating force in this process of progress.

Behind this ideology is the numerical strength of the non-

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Russian nations. In spite of all persecutions, the non-Russian nations, in my opinion, still constitute the majority in the Soviet Union. After a long and obstinate silence of twenty years, the State Statistical Publishing House in Moscow published in 1956 a compendium[76] setting for that year the total population at 200,200,000.

POPULATION OF THE UNION REPUBLICS

	Estimated Population in Millions	
	1940	April 1956
USSR	191.7	200.2
RSFSR	107.9	112.6
Ukrainian SSR	41.0	40.6
Belo-Russian SSR	9.2	8.0
Uzbek SSR	6.3	7.3
Kazak SSR	6.2	8.5
Georgian SSR	3.6	4.0
Azerbaijan SSR	3.2	3.4
Lithuanian SSR	2.9	2.7
Moldavian SSR	2.5	2.7
Latvian SSR	1.9	2.0
Kirghiz SSR	1.5	1.9
Tadzhik SSR	1.5	1.8
Turkmen SSR	1.2	1.4
Estonian SSR	1.0	1.1
Karelo-Finnish SSR	0.5	0.6

These population totals are not based on a census (the last one was undertaken January 19, 1939), but on approximate estimates of what the Russian share of the population can be, at the most, 46–47%. (The attempt of Soviet Moscow to keep down the population of Ukraine by exiles or "voluntary" work outside Ukraine is strikingly apparent in the totals.)

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Nationalism of the Non-Russian Nations as an International Problem

Let us finally sum up the present situation of the fight of the non-Russian nations for their existence, freedom, and self-determination and let us discuss the international problems and the present world crisis connected with them.

First, one must grasp the outlook of world affairs from the Soviet Moscow point of view. Having subordinated to its control nearly one billion of the world population, having "neutralized" or antagonized nearly half a billion against the free world, having achieved atomic weapons, the sputnik triumphs and the intercontinental missile, Soviet Moscow is convinced it has already won "the world revolution." All that remains, it is believed, is the problem of how, without a shooting war, to take over the rest of the world by "cultural exchanges." The final realization of the "World Soviet Union" is in the last stage according to the point of view of Russian Communist imperialism. It has reached that status because the United States is already "isolated," economically "weakened" and in a military sense, left with essentially only the Turks, Spaniards, and perhaps the West Germans as reliable allies. This conviction greatly increases Russian Communist dynamism in its subversive aggressions against the free world through all modern economic, political and cultural methods. "We will bury you" (the free world) is the slogan of the heirs of Stalin, even with American credits, which Khrushchev has already demanded.[77] This dynamism and

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continuous aggressiveness assures Soviet Moscow the primacy and leadership in their far-flung Red Empire and in their Communist Revolution.

Secondly, Soviet Moscow is well aware that all these successes are based on the recognition of its primacy and leadership by the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. If these nations could successfully challenge the Russian leadership inside the Soviet Union, the Russian primacy would then also collapse amongst the captive nations, and finally the Communist parties of the free world. Thus, the old nationality problem, either in the form of "bourgeois" nationalism, or "communist" nationalism, linked with revisionism, remains the life and death question of Russian Communist imperialism.

That is the outlook of Russian Communists on world affairs. In spite of de-Stalinization and the conflicts between the top leaders, they have a clear goal and have improved upon Leninist oblique tactics. What is the outlook of the United States and the Western Democracies on world affairs?

First, for nearly forty years the free world has had a sad record of disregarding the nationality problem of the Soviet Union, by cooperation, or politically and economically supporting the Russian Communist colonialism and imperialism. The professors of Sovietology and Russian history of the universities in the free world, generally speaking, have an even sadder record of disregarding it, of misinforming the public about the real facts regarding "Russia," of limiting their "research" to digests of publications either of the old Tsarist or the new Russian Communist pseudo-scientific publications, and of upholding faithfully the Russian dogma of the "one and indivisible, homogeneous Russia, populated only by Russians." Ukraine is compared with Texas, Belo-Russia with Connecticut and the Soviet Union with the United States and its federal constitution. These Russian imperialistic clichés and patterns of thought are systematically cultivated in the United States also by the Russian Mensheviks who, through their English publications, have decidedly influenced and are influencing American foreign politics. The ideas of George F. Kennan and not of George Washington

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and Jefferson have permeated American foreign policy regarding the non-Russian nations.

Secondly, regarding the Russian Communist revolution and the Soviet Union, there developed in the United States four schools of thought, namely:

(a) The school of a gradual liberalization of the Russian Communist dictatorship in its interior and foreign politics and the expectation that the Russian revolution will end with the stabilization of a "democratic federated republic."

(b) The second school advocates the active support of national communism, called Titoism, to speed up the "liberalization," disregarding completely the fact that "national" communism is nevertheless communism and dictatorship.

(c) The third school accepts the present situation of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union and of the captive countries under Soviet rule in terms of finality. As a solution to the world crisis this school suggests obtaining from Russian Communists an "assurance" that their revolutionary expansion is ended and that Russian Communist imperialism is finally satiated. Such a legalization of the Russian Communist conquests by the free world and such a division of the planet would give the Soviet Union, it believes, the feeling of "security."

(d) The fourth school of thought on the Russian Communist revolution and the Soviet Union is brilliantly formulated by F. O. Matthiessen[78] as a completion of the incomplete American revolution:

> I accept the Russian Revolution as the most progressive event of our century, the necessary successor to the French Revolution and the American Revolution and to England's seventeenth century Civil War. . . . Let us grant that it was unfortunate that our revolution had to take place in Russia, a country backward in economic and political development, with a brutal tradition of Czarist oppression and of secret police, which could hardly fail to leave some mark on its immediate successors. But we do not have the luxury of choice in the place and conditions for a revolution. Revolutions happen because conditions have become so insup-

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> portable that the people are driven to right them by whatever violent means. But they also happen only when the people and their leaders possess a sufficiently defined goal which they hope to achieve and the vitality of courage to drive toward it. . . . The comparable acceptance required by twentieth-century history is to recognize that, owing to the vast developments in industrialization, political revolution now can and must be completed by an economic revolution. It must be so completed because we have now learned that otherwise the immense concentration of wealth in a few hands makes for a renewed form of tyranny. This is the truth we grasped through the theory and practice of Lenin. It would be the worst folly to lose sight of it, no matter what aberrations from or distortions of it have occurred in the special circumstances of current Russia. And the Russians, whatever their failures in practice so far, however short they may have fallen of some of Lenin's aims through the grim pressures of dictatorship, have not been deflected from the right of all to share in the common wealth.

I do not wish to evaluate these schools from the moral or political point of view, but I only call attention to the events inside the Soviet Union and to the revolutions amongst the captive nations which convincingly proved the fallacy of all these schools of thought. The non-Russian nations in the whole sphere of Russian imperialistic Communism never accepted either the loss of their democratic national states or of their freedom as final.

What is the outlook of the non-Russian nations, of the victims of Russian Communist imperialism, on the Russian Communist Revolution and on the international crisis?

First they regard the present stage of the revolution only as a phase of a still unfinished historical process. The beginning of the last act of this revolution started in East Germany (Berlin), in Poland, and Hungary but it was stopped by the moral apathy and lethargy of the free world. The Russian Communist imperialism, using revolutions against democracy, can be stopped and broken only by a democratic revolution of the victims of Rus-

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sian imperialism, supported by the whole strength of democratic powers for the common cause. All the elements for such a revolution amongst the victims of Russian Communism exist and are explosive by nature but the free world is not ready to play its part. The United States has already forgotten the help the American Revolution received from France.

To give an historical comparison for the present world situation, the non-Russian leaders believe that Russian Communist imperialism is in a position similar to its empire as the French Revolution and Napoleon. France was also surrounded by a wall of "satellites," an immense empire from Spain and Italy through Germany reaching Poland. Then came one miscalculated adventure, the march toward Moscow. The consequences were the anti-French revolutions of the non-French victims and finally Waterloo and the collapse of the whole Napoleonic Empire founded on bayonets. But the anti-French revolutions had the active support of Great Britain and the endangered monarchs who acted as defenders of national ideas. Another comparison which can be used is that of the Ottoman Empire and its disintegration through the Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian and Hungarian revolutionary movements, supported partly by European powers, with even Byron dramatically dying for Greek freedom.

Russian Communists in the last decade made many assaults upon Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and China but the free world, still having atomic monopoly and full air superiority, refused to interpret these imperialistic ventures as miscalculations of Russian imperialism. The free world betrayed its democratic allies, like Poland, Czechoslovakia and China, to Russian Communist imperialism which now, having its own atomic arms and intercontinental missiles, endangers the freedom and independence of the free world itself. Thus to be an ally of the free world, to be fighters for freedom, judging by the background of facts of World War II, is the most dangerous business; it pays to be an enemy, especially of the United States, as the fate of Germany, Italy and Japan convincingly proves. Consequently, that Russian Communist imperialism achieved such terrific successes is also to the credit of the free world

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itself which now has to face the present protracted world crisis as a direct result of the false evaluation of Central and Eastern Europe's nationality problem. Let us put it bluntly. The free world now has to defend its own self-determination and independence, its own democratic way of life against Russian Communist imperialism. There never was a case of such a rapid and catastrophic decline from world leadership as occurred to the United States from 1946 to 1958 in world politics.

Secondly, the non-Russian nations and their emigrations clearly see the chief cause which brought the free world to the brink of catastrophe. It was this lack of proper understanding of, and help to, the nationalism of the non-Russian nations, a lack of moral principles and moral courage. For the last forty years the leading powers of the free world have not supported these nations whose democratic nationalism was formed by the ideals of the American Declaration of Independence and the Rights of Man. Rather, these free world powers have directly and indirectly aided Russian despotism and tyranny. This tyranny was finally "honored" with membership in the League of Nations and in the UN. The free world itself decidedly helped in the development of Russian Communist industrial potency, the basis of present Russian imperialism and militarism. Thus, the free world for many years formed a second front against the revolting and resisting non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union.

After bitter experiences, the non-Russian nations now know they are alone, and therefore their leaders believe that to organize a new Hungary, only to provide oratory competition for the politicians in the UN would be, to say the least, irresponsible. Those are the bitter and realistic nuances which characterize the present-day nationalism of the non-Russian nations both behind the Iron Curtain and in the emigrations.

The worst experiences the non-Russian nations have had in the last decade were with the so-called private American organizations for liberation from bolshevism. Some of them systematically fought the anti-Russian nationalism of the non-Russian nations in the free world and in the United States; they financially supported "federalist" movements and collaborated in this direction with Soviet provocators who later "returned home."

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Finally they used their vast resources for the invention of political federalist parties in Europe, forcing upon the emigrations and their scholars the political ideology of "undecidedness" regarding the previous acts of the declarations of independence of their nations, and abolished their academic freedom by a censorship in free America. Simultaneously they support with vast funds Russian imperialist movements publicly negating the right of self-determination of the non-Russians and publicly propagating the restoration of a bourgeois Russian empire.

Since 1948, on the other hand, the non-Russian nations have found many just personalities among the congressmen and senators who actively supported and morally stimulated their cause. Secretary of State Dean Acheson on June 26, 1951 before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, saw the light, but too late, when he said:

> Historically, the Russian state has had three great drives—to the west into Europe, to the south into the Middle East, and to the east into Asia. Historically, also, the Russian state has displayed considerable caution in carrying out these drives. . . . The Politburo has acted in the same way. It has carried on and built on the imperialist tradition. What it has added consists mainly of new weapons and new tactics. . . . The ruling power in Moscow has long been an imperial power and now rules a greatly extended empire. This is the challenge our foreign policy is required to meet.
>
> It is clear that this process of encroachment and consolidation by which Russia has grown in the last five hundred years from the Duchy of Muscovy to a vast empire has got to be stopped.

A rather small group of American university professors attempted to present the truth about the Soviet Union and Russian Communism to the American public. The scholarly contributions of Marquette University and Georgetown University for the dissemination of the truth about Russian Communism will be evaluated in the future as turning points. But all together they still could not change the official American policy and

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attitude toward the non-Russian nations formulated by George Kennan and influenced by R. Gordon Wasson (Morgan Bank).

Thus, for the post-World War II decade the fact is on record that the United States's sympathy for the self-determination of colonial nations did help to dissolve the colonial empires of its faithful American allies in Asia and Africa. Those allies were Great Britain, France and Holland, whose colonialism, aside from some dark pages, must be called "enlightened" because it also brought real progress into their colonies. But America's official policy not only failed to support the struggle of the non-Russian nations for self-determination in the empire of its deadly enemy but always treated the Soviet Union as a homogeneous Russian territory, in spite of the fact that the Russian "unenlightened" colonialism is founded on atheism, genocide, torture, slave labor and communist terror. The nationalism of the non-Russian nations was constantly treated by leading American scholars and journalists as "separatism" or "fascism" and the very existence of some of these nations was negated.

The fate of the non-Russian captive nations is presently merged with the fate of the free world. And Russian Communist imperialism faces this free world with only three eventualities, namely:

(a) If the free world tolerates the further continuation of the Russian expansion in the same tempo as it has for the past forty years, then in the next twenty years or sooner, the World Soviet Union under Russian dictatorship will be established.

(b) If Soviet Moscow's technical advances can convince Russian Communists that the United States of America can be defeated on the military level, Soviet Moscow, after having the United States politically isolated, will inflict a gigantic "Pearl Harbor" attack on the United States with all the means at its disposal, as a "Blitz War III."

(c) Revolutions by the captive non-Russian nations will occur inside the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence which will weaken Russian imperialism and colonialism. Let us hope that the masses of the Russian nation will have already reached the proper level of a Christian conscience to join in this revolution, to get rid of their traditionally imperialistic elite, and carry out

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their own self-determination as a democratic nation. The chance for this actuality is rather slight, after the experiences of Poland, Hungary and Tibet.

There should be no room for cheap optimism about the future. There is little, or better still, no hope that conferences or summit meetings can persuade aggressive Russian Communist imperialism to relinquish its Marxist-Leninist ideology and its aims. Gibbon, commenting on the events which led to the fall of Constantinople, wrote: "Persuasion is the resource of the feeble, and the feeble can seldom persuade."

The Russian Communist dictatorship is a master in utilizing every mistake or magnanimity on the part of the free world, the world toward which it practices Lenin's cynical formula, "We can rely to the full on the irrevocable stupidity of the bourgeois governments." The Muscovites never gave, do not now give, nor will they ever give "a sucker an even break." In their tactics and methods, today's Red Tsarism follows White Tsarism precisely. Unfortunately, public opinion has already forgotten how Tsar Nicholas II, behind pious declaration of pacifism and disarmament leading to the peace conferences of 1899 and 1907 at the Hague, promoted his armaments and the most rapacious imperialistic actions by aggressions and subversive movements against Japan, China, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey in the Balkans. The result of these conferences was World War I. Red Tsarism has an even more impressive record of conferences and signed non-aggression and friendship treaties between and during the World Wars. The result of all these conferences is the present Russian Communist Empire of 900 million people. Now, Red Tsarism, regarding the United States as the only temporary obstacle to complete world domination, is again trying to lull the free world by conferences, "cultural exchanges," and visits. What will be the result?

The result already achieved according to experts is:[79]

> The unpleasant fact is that Soviet air and rocket power developments, of the last five years, have brought the Kremlin to the state of military preparedness in which it might reasonably gamble on a victory over the West.

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Americans are even being "conditioned" according to Pavlov's methods for the final crisis in such works as Bertrand Russell's *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare* that it would be better to yield than indulge in nuclear war. The English philosopher does not grasp that he is only inviting the Kremlin to more aggressions and that the alternative to nuclear war is not "co-existence" but slavery of the free world, including the United States. The proposition of the Kremlin for a U.S.-USSR world condominium is only a short station from the World Soviet Union.

The non-Russian nations are entering the next decade without any illusions regarding the West and the United States. They are fed up with the expressions of sanctimonious sympathy for their "peoples"; they ask the Americans rather to have real sympathy for the plight of the United States. The rising industrial Soviet power added a new element to Soviet diplomacy and the Russian dictatorship for the first time talks to the United States and the free world in terms of ultimatums (Berlin) and threats of hydrogen missile use.

But let us keep one prediction of Marx in mind which appeared in the *Tribune* on December 31, 1853:

> The people of the West will rise again to power and unity of purpose, while the Russian Colossus itself will be shattered by the progress of the masses, and the explosive force of ideas.

The only explosive force of ideas contained in the national freedom aspirations of the non-Russian nations include human rights and social justice—ideas which the pertinent American government offices have still not discovered. Curiously, the principles, for which Americans fought their own mother country, England, seem the very principles Americans have been ignoring in their foreign policy toward the new Red Russian Empire for 40 years.

Thus we have been callous concerning the great heritage which was ours. If the United States is to survive the next decade, Americans must not forsake their traditional ideals. It is worth-

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while to ponder the words of President Wilson at San Diego, California on September 19, 1919 as he fought for the ratification of the Versailles Treaty including the League of Nations Covenant, the "heart of the peace problem":

> We went into this war not only to see that autocratic power never threatened the world again, but for even larger purposes than that. Other autocratic powers may spring up, but there is only one soil in which they can spring up, and that is the wrongs done to free peoples of the world. The heart and center of this treaty is that it sets at liberty people all over Europe and in Asia who had hitherto been enslaved by powers which were not their rightful sovereigns and masters.
>
> So long as wrongs like that exist in the world, you cannot bring permanent peace to the world. I go further than that. So long as wrongs of that sort exist, you ought not to bring permanent peace to the world, because those wrongs ought to be righted, and enslaved peoples ought to be free to right them.
>
> For my part, I will not take any part in composing difficulties that ought not to be composed, and a difficulty between an enslaved people and its autocratic rulers ought not to be composed.
>
> We in America have stood from the day of our birth for the emancipation of people throughout the world who were living unwillingly under governments which were not of their own choice. The thing which we have held more sacred than any other is that all just government rests upon the consent of the governed, and all over the world that principle has been disregarded, that principle has been flouted by the strong, and only the weak have suffered.

Only by realizing the self-determination of the non-Russian nations, only by the international concert of free nations, nationalities and peoples can real peace be achieved.

Only uncompromising idealism can prevent the catastrophe of the free world which is now tempted to help Russian Com-

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munism carry out Khrushchev's Seven-Year Plan in the Soviet Union. Should the free world succumb to the temptation it will be forced to face, as its consequence, an economic Soviet offensive after 1965 culminating in a world crisis, accompanied by those psychological propaganda pressures and military threats which only dictatorships can plan.

In order to bring the presentation of the events in America up to date I welcome the *Captive Nations Week Resolution*, now Public Law 86-90, passed on July 9, 1959 by the United States Congress. The idea of the resolution was elaborated by an American scholar, Lev Dobriansky, Georgetown University, and it attracted the interest of Congressman Cretella of Connecticut. It is just in line with Wilson's original world outlook. The resolution was introduced in the Senate by Senators Douglas and Javits on June 22, and co-sponsored by Senators Eastland, Moss, Bush, Lausche, Scott, Hartke, Green, Dodd, Humphrey, Hart, Neuberger, Keating, Young of North Dakota, Engle, Curtis, Langer, Morse, and Case of New Jersey. On June 22 Congressman Bentley introduced a parallel measure in the House where Congressmen McCormack, Feighan, Judd, Walter and others supported it. It was unanimously passed in both houses.

Here is the text:

> *Whereas* the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds; and
>
> *Whereas* this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of people everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and
>
> *Whereas* the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understand-

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ing between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such people through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested

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> to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July 1959 as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

The Proclamation that was issued by President Eisenhower contains the following:

> *Whereas* many nations throughout the world have been made captive by the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Soviet communism; and
>
> *Whereas* the peoples of the Soviet-dominated nations have been deprived of their national independence and their individual liberties; and
>
> *Whereas* the citizens of the United States are linked by bonds of family and principle to those who love freedom and justice on every continent; and
>
> *Whereas* it is appropriate and proper to manifest to the peoples of the captive nations the support of the government and the people of the United States of America for their just aspirations for freedom and national independence; and
>
> *Whereas* by a joint resolution approved July 17, 1959, the Congress has authorized and requested the President of the United States of America to issue a Proclamation designating the 3rd week in July 1959 as "Captive Nations Week" and to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world:
>
> *Now, therefore, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 19, 1959, as Captive Nations Week.*
>
> I invite the people of the United States of America to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities

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and urge them to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the peoples of those captive nations.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 17th day of July in the year of our Lord 1959 and of the Independence of the United States of America the 184th.

If this resolution had been passed forty years ago and backed with some real help for the victims of Russian imperialism, it would have changed history and liberated the world from the threat of Russian imperialism once and forever.

But now, after long decades of American political and moral blindness toward the struggle for liberty by non-Russian nations, after decades of actual help to Russian Communist imperialism —is it not too late?

Not words but deeds shape history. Let us hope they will follow.

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Notes

1. Alfred von Heidenstroem, *Geschichte Russlands von 1878-1918* (Stuttgart-Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1924), pp. 14-15.

2. *Code of Laws of the Russian Empire*, "On the Title of His Imperial Highness and on the State Coat-Of-Arms," XI, 59. The full title of His Imperial Highness is as follows: "By Divine blessed Grace, We (name), Emperor and Autocrat of All Russia, Muscovy, Kiev, Vladimir, Novgorod; Tsar of Kazan, Tsar of Astrakhan, Tsar of Poland, Tsar of Siberia, Tsar of Tauria, Khersones, Tsar of Georgia; Ruler of Pskov and Grand Duke of Smolensk, Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia and Finland; Duke of Estland, Livonia, Kurland, Semigalia, Samogitia, Byelostok, Karelia, Tversk, Yugor, Perm, Vyatka, Bulgaria and others. Ruler and Grand Duke of the Lower Novgorod lands, Chernigov, Ryazan, Polotsk, Rostov, Yaroslavl, Belozersk, Udorsk, Obdorsk, Kondisk, Vitebsk, Mstislavsk, and Ruler of all northern lands; also Ruler of Iversk, Kartalinsk and Kabarda lands and of Armenian provinces; Circassians' and Mountain Princes' and others, Hereditary Ruler and Protector; Ruler of Turkestan, Norwegian Heir, Herzog of Schleswig-Holstein, Stormark, Ditmark and Oldenburg and others, and others, and others."

3. Bela Kovrig, "Nationalism and an International Political Order," in *From Disorder to World Order* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1956), pp. 74-90.

4. Cf. Ivar Spector, *The Soviet Union and the Muslim World 1917-1958* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1958), p. 33, and the given bibliography in Russian on Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism.

Cf. Xenia Joukoff Eudin and Robert C. North, *Soviet Russia and the East. 1920-27, A Documentary Survey* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.).

5. From this phrase Gogol created the famous character *Derzhimorda* in his Inspector General symbolizing the Russian brutal police methods.

6. In 1906 some objective Russian academicians, among them leading Russian linguists—F. E. Korsh, F. F. Fortunatov, A. A. Shakmatov—defended the independence and equality of the Ukrainian language in a "considered opinion" of the Imperial Academy of Liberal Arts and Sciences.

Cf. Imperial Academy of Sciences. On the Restriction of Little Russian Printing (in Russian). St. Petersburg, 1910.

7. The Ottoman Caliphs had the institution of Janizaries, training native renegades to assist them in administering their "human cattle" in the conquered countries. The "imperial bureaucracy" exercised this function in the Russian Empire.

8. Cf. The excellent survey of the power of the police in: Josef Melnik, ed., *Russen Ueber Russland* (Frankfurt am Main, 1906), pp. 418-45. See

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especially the chapters "Polizei" and "Das Aussergerichtliche Strafverfahren" by Vladimir Nabokow.

9. Jacob Henry Schiff (1847-1920), partner and later head of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, a generous benefactor of American education and charitable institutions; Jewish patriot, endowed the Semitic Museum and Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City.

10. George Kennan (1845-1924), traveled through the Caucasus and Siberia, published a few books about the life of political prisoners and exiles in Siberia which aroused the American public opinion and wrote books on the peoples of Northern Asia.

11. The preface is dated December, 1914, Constantinpole. The Ukrainian edition has the title: *V Oboroni Demokratiyi—Proty Tsaratu.* Wydannia Ukrainskoyi Sotsialdemokratiyi 1914, p. 32 (Vienna). Parvus is the pseudoym of Alexander L. Gelfand Helphand, born in Belo-Ruthenia and an émigré who was later chairman of the Second Petersburg Soviet of the Workers Delegates in 1905. He was exiled to Siberia but escaped to the West. Parvus, whom I met personally, was a very prolific Marxist writer and political theorist who originated the conception of the "permanent revolution." Before and during World War I he was a personality in Russian Socialism of equal caliber with men like Lenin and Trotsky, who often followed his leadership. He was an extraordinary personality: a mixture of theoretician, activist, revolutionary and shrewd businessman. He had extensive personal contacts among diplomats and states—and military men in different countries. His chief aim was the annihilation of the anti-Semitic Romanov autocracy. See also: Bertram Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution* (New York: The Dial Press, 1948), pp. 280-94.

12. Lew Shankowsky, "Disintegration of the Imperial Russian Army in 1917," *Ukrainian Quarterly,* XVIII, No. 4, pp. 305-28.

That the Volynian Guards Regiment, formed by reservists from the rightbank Ukraine, was 90% Ukrainian. Cf. A. Antiev, *Outline of the History of the Civil War,* 1917-1920. (in Russian), Leningrad, 1925; A. Mikovskii, *Civil War in SSSR,* 1918-20 (in Russian), Moscow, 1940.

13. Lenin, *Sochineniia,* XXV, pp. 73-74, 82.

14. *Idel* is the Tatarian word for Volga.

15. The Declaration of Independence was drawn up by Alexander Krasnoshchekov, ex-lawyer from Chicago.

16. See my: *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communist Imperialism* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1952), pp. 34-43.

17. Eugene Pyziur, "The Doctrine of Anarchism of Michael A. Bakunin," in *Marquette Slavic Studies I* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1956).

18. L. Tikhomirov, *Vospominaniya* (1927), pp. 90-92. See also N. S. Rusanov, *V emigratsii* (Moscow, 1929), pp. 36, 37.

19. Michael Dragomanov (1841-95), Ukrainian historian, ethnologist, socialist, emissary of the Ukrainian underground movement in Russia to western Europe, émigré, professor of the University in Sofia (Bulgaria) where he died.

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20. Taras Shevchenko (1814-61), national poet of Ukraine, and enthusiast for the American Revolution and George Washington.

21. Michael Katkov (1818-87), Russian reactionary, university professor, journalist, imperialist, hater of all the non-Russian nations which had been engulfed by Russian Tsarism.

22. Serhiy Podolinsky (1850-91), M. D., émigré, early Marxist, socialist and journalist.

Since printing in Ukrainian was then forbidden in the Russian Empire by the Ukase of the Tsar of 1876, the Ukrainian resistance organization of Kiev printed its periodical in Switzerland.

23. Cf. Wolfe, *op cit.*, pp. 233-34.

24. Lenin, *op. cit.*, XIX, pp. 40, 245.

25. *Ibid.*, XVII, 140-46.

26. Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question,* pp. 39, 40, 48.

27. The history of Socialism in the Russian Empire and the role of Socialism during the revolution as presented by Anatol Shub in his pamphlet "Labor in the Soviet Orbit," *New Leader* (Dec. 24-31, 1956), are contrary to historical facts, having a complete disregard for the history of Socialism among the non-Russian nations.

28. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination,* p. 99.

29. Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitaeten Frage and die Socialdemokratie* (Wien, 1907).

In fact the roots of the so-called "Austrian school" regarding the rights of nationalities can be traced to the revolution of 1848 in Austria and the Reichstag at Kremsier which was dissolved by the Emperor Francis Joseph on March 7, 1849. There was accepted in a draft of the constitution § 21 that "All nationalities of the empire are equal in rights." This principle was developed in the "Auseer program," which led later to the "Linzer" program of Austrian Socialists in which the nationality program of Austria became closely merged with the struggle for social justice. Finally in 1899 the "Bruenn program" was accepted which demanded the abolishment of the historical provinces in Austria, the establishment of national territories with full autonomies and the reorganization of Austria into a federation of nationalities (Nationalitaeten Bundesstaat). The minutes of the Bruenn congress were translated into Russian and were circulated in the Russian universities and political circles. They had there deep repercussions especially amongst the Poles and Ukrainians because the leader of the Poles, Ignatius Daszynski and the leader of the Ukrainians, W. Hankewych, discussed there also the plight of their nations under the Russian yoke. These facts called the attention of the Russian socialists to the nationality problem inside the Russian empire and to the danger of the ideas of the Austrian Socialists for the Russian Empire and the dominant position of the Russian nation.

Cf. Wenzel Yaksch, *Europas Weg Nach Potsdam,* 1958.

30. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, p. 581.

31. Norman Thomas to Roman Smal-Stocki, New York, May 14, 1958, acknowledged this as the substance of his statements.

32. *Socialisticheskii Vestnik*, December, 1923.

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33. *Socialisticheskii Vestnik*, 1-2, 1950.

34. George F. Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1956), I, 189-90.

35. Cf. Roman Smal-Stocki, *Application of the Ukrainian Republic for Admission to the League of Nations* (Paris: 1930).

36. I. P. Trainin, *SSSR i Natsionalnaia Problema* (Moscow: 1924). Cf. also: W. Kolarz, *Russia and Her Colonies* (New York: 1952). pp. 8-12, 107, 187-88.

37. Mykola Skrypnyk, *To the Theory of the Struggle of Two Cultures* (Dershvydav, 1926). Skrypnyk (1872-1933) was a prominent Ukrainian national communist and commissar of education of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. He committed suicide, having refused to repent and to disavow his "deviations." He was under the influence of Bauer's ideas on the nationality question.

38. Ivan Maistrenko, *Borotbism* (New York: Research Program of the USSR, 1954); *See also* Jurij Lawrynenko, *Ukrainian Communism and Soviet Russian Policy Toward the Ukraine* (New York: Research Program of the USSR, 1953).

Thanks to *The New Leader*, completely false opinions are disseminated about the origin of "national communism" in the United States. An article in the June 17, 1958 issue, titled "Ten Years of National Communism," written by A. V. Sherman, is misleading. In actuality, this phenomenon is not ten, but forty years old and Titoism is only the third version of it. Cf. Roman Smal-Stocki, Origin of National Communism, Papers, No. 2. Slavic Institute, Marquette University, 1958.

39. D. A. Magerovskii, *Soiuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik* (Moscow: 1923).

40. Cf. M. Khvylovyi, "Thoughts Against the Current" (1926): "In our literature we have imbedded the theory of Communist independence. Is Russia an independent state? Of course! And we too are independent! We face the question: From which world literature should our literature take its cue? By no means and never from Moscow! This is definite and without reservation. From Russian literature, from its styles, Ukrainian poetry must flee as fast as it can." This statement illustrates the mood of all non-Russian writers.

41. Cf. *Genocide in the USSR. Studies in Group Destruction,* Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. Munich. The Scarecrow Press, Inc., New York, 1958.

42. Roman Smal-Stocki, *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1952), pp. 93-196. These pages include a presentation of Marr's theory.

43. M. N. Pokrovsky, *Brief History of Russia* (2 vols.; New York: International Publishers, 1933).

44. A. M. Pankratova (ed.), Istoria SSSR (3d ed.; Moscow; 1955). On "Rewriting of History." C. E. Black, editor, *Rewriting Russian History* (Research Program on the U.S.S.R. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1956).

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45. *Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy* (Kharkiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1930).

46. *Report of Court Proceedings in the Case of the Anti-Soviet Conspiracy of Rights and Trotskyites* (Moscow: 1938).

47. Smal-Stocki, *Nationality Problem*, pp. 158-63. All the distinguished leaders of the non-Russian nations participated in this movement either directly or through their representatives. Included were: Mustafa Chokaev (Turkestan); Dzafer Seidamet (Crimean Turk); Mehmet Emin Resul Zade, and M. Vekilli (Azerbaijan); Noi Zhordania, Akaki Chkhenkeli, and George Nakashidze (Georgia); Saib Shamyl and Ballo Billati (North Caucasians); Prokopovych, Wolodymyr Salsky, Pavlo Shandruk, and Oleksandr Shulhyn (Ukraine); W. Ivanys, P. Suliatytsky, (Kuban Cossacks); A. Frolow (Don Cossacks); and others.

48. Cf. Basil Dmytryshyn, *Moscow and Ukraine 1918-1953* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1956), pp. 215-36.

See also Wlodzimierz Baczkowski, *Towards an Understanding of Russia* (Jerusalem: 1947), pp. 183-84: "That is also seen in the fight of the Soviet state against all separatist attempts by representatives of various nationalities who take their constitutional rights seriously. Almost all non-Russian statesmen and politicians in the Soviets who were so simple as not to understand the real nature of Soviet centralization have been liquidated . . .

"In 1935, the delegates of the non-Russian Soviet Republics were invited to representation on the special committee for drafting a project of a new constitution. They were: Petrovsky, chairman of the Central Executive Committee (CEC) of Soviet Ukraine; Chervyakov, chairman of the CEC of Belo-Russia; Aytakov, chairman of the CEC of Turkmenistan; Musabekov, chairman of the Council of Commissars (CC) of the Transcaucasian Federation; Rachimbayev, chairman of the CC of Tadzikistan; Khodzayev, chairman of the CC of Uzbekistan; Goloded, chairman of the CC of Belo-Russia; Lubchenko, chairman of the CC of Ukraine; Ikramov, secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and Erbanov, secretary of the Communist Party of Buryat-Mongolia.

"All of the above mentioned were at the height of their power when the constitution was accepted in 1936 but in 1937 all of them, without exception, were declared spies and enemies of the people. They were replaced by new men entirely devoted to the new 'general' policy of the party."

49. Cf. *Short History of the U.S.S.R. Communist Party* (Moscow: 1938).

50. Poland's sympathy for the non-Russian nations was manifested by the permission to organize the Promethean Congress in 1936 in Warsaw and with some 300 officers of the non-Russian nations in the Polish army in attendance.

51. Cf. Georg von Rauch, *A History of Soviet Russia* (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1951), pp. 344-46.

Cf. Pavlo Shandruk, *Arms of Valor* (New York: Robert Speller & Sons, 1959), pp. 217-255.

52. Amendment to article 18a: "Each Union Republic has the right to

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enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them."

53. Amendment to article 18b: "Each Union Republic has its own Republican military formation."

54. Michael Achmeteli, "Das Kaukasus–Drama," *Der Europaeische Osten,* III (1958).

55. Nikita S. Khrushchev, "The Crimes of the Stalin Era," *The New Leader* (1956), pp. 44-45.

56. *Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta,* September 26, 1957.

57. *Sovetskaya Moldavia,* October 16, 1956.

58. A. M. Pankratova, *Rech na XX syezde KPSS* (speech at the XX Party Congress), *Pravda,* February 22, 1956.

59. A. I. Mikoyan, *Rech na XX syezde KPSS* (speech at the XX Party Congress), *Pravda,* February 18, 1956.

60. *Voprosy Istorii,* Nr. 3 (1957), pp. 3-19.

61. *Voprosy Istorii,* Nr. 3 (1956), pp. 75-84.

62. G. S. Partaliev, *"Gosudarstvo v Borbe za Razvitie Sotsialisticheskoi Kultury v Kazakhstane,"* (Alma Ata: 1957).

63. Cf. N. Lenin, An Infantile Disorder. Moscow. 1914, p. 8.

64. Cf. Y. Stankievich, "The Language Policy of the Bolsheviks in the Belo-Russian SSR," *Belo-Russian Review,* I (1955), 75-79; and "Some New Changes in the Belo-Russian Language as Used in the Belo-Russian SSR," *Belo-Russian Review,* V (1957), 121-23.

65. *Pravda Ukrainy,* October 29, 1957. *Chervonyi Prapor* (Red Banner), published in Rovno, Feb. 11, 1956 contained an invitation to all those "who did not return home after the end of the war" to give themselves up to the authorities. "Come back! Confess! Your Homeland will forgive you!"

66. Nicholas Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1948), p. 107.

67. *Ibid.,* p. 113. Cf. also George Fedotow (*Sudba Imperii,* p. 195), "Bolshevism was established without difficulty in Petrograd and Moscow. The Civil War hardly touched the Great Russian territory, while the borderlands fought bolshevism desperately. Perhaps there was something (in the great Russian tradition) that helped bolshevism more than (the traditions) the non-Russian borderlands. There were serfdom, Russian village communes, and autocracy."

68. *Ibid.,* p. 114.

69. *Ibid.,* p. 130.

70. *Ibid.,* p. 114-115.

71. *Ibid.,* p. 116-117.

72. *Ibid.,* p. 125.

73. *Ibid.,* p. 120.

74. Vsevolod Holubnychy, *The Industrial Output of Ukraine* (Institute for the Study of the USSR, 1951), p. 1: "Most of the contemporary border

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republics of the Union have always been from the economic point of view colonies or semicolonies of the central republic of the Union today. The transfer of wealth, of capital and labor, and cadres of specialists from these republics to Russia always aroused opposition and a spirit of nationalism in these republics."

75. Oscar Halecki, *The Limits and Division of European History* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1950), X.

76. *Narodnoe Khozaistvo SSSR* (The National Economy of the USSR), Moscow, 1956.

77. Cf. *Newsweek*, LI (June 16, 1954), 43-44; and *Time* LXXI (June 16, 1958), 12.

78. F. O. Matthiessen, *From the Heart of Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 82-83. The conception of Matthiessen was supplemented by following contributions to the Nationality Problem in the Soviet Union by Harvard: . . . "these three groups (Russians Ukrainians, Belorussians) are none the less parts of the same nation, so that a White Russian (Belo-Russian) or a Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin," Cf. Samuel Hazzard Cross: *Slavic Civilization Through the Ages* (Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 51). Cross was the head of the Slavic Department. The successor of Cross is Roman Jacobson. Cf. Roman Smal-Stocki, *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union*, pp. 163-182, pp. 371-378, pp. 426-445.

79. Cf. Asher Lee, editor, *The Soviet Air and Rocket Forces* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959), prologue.

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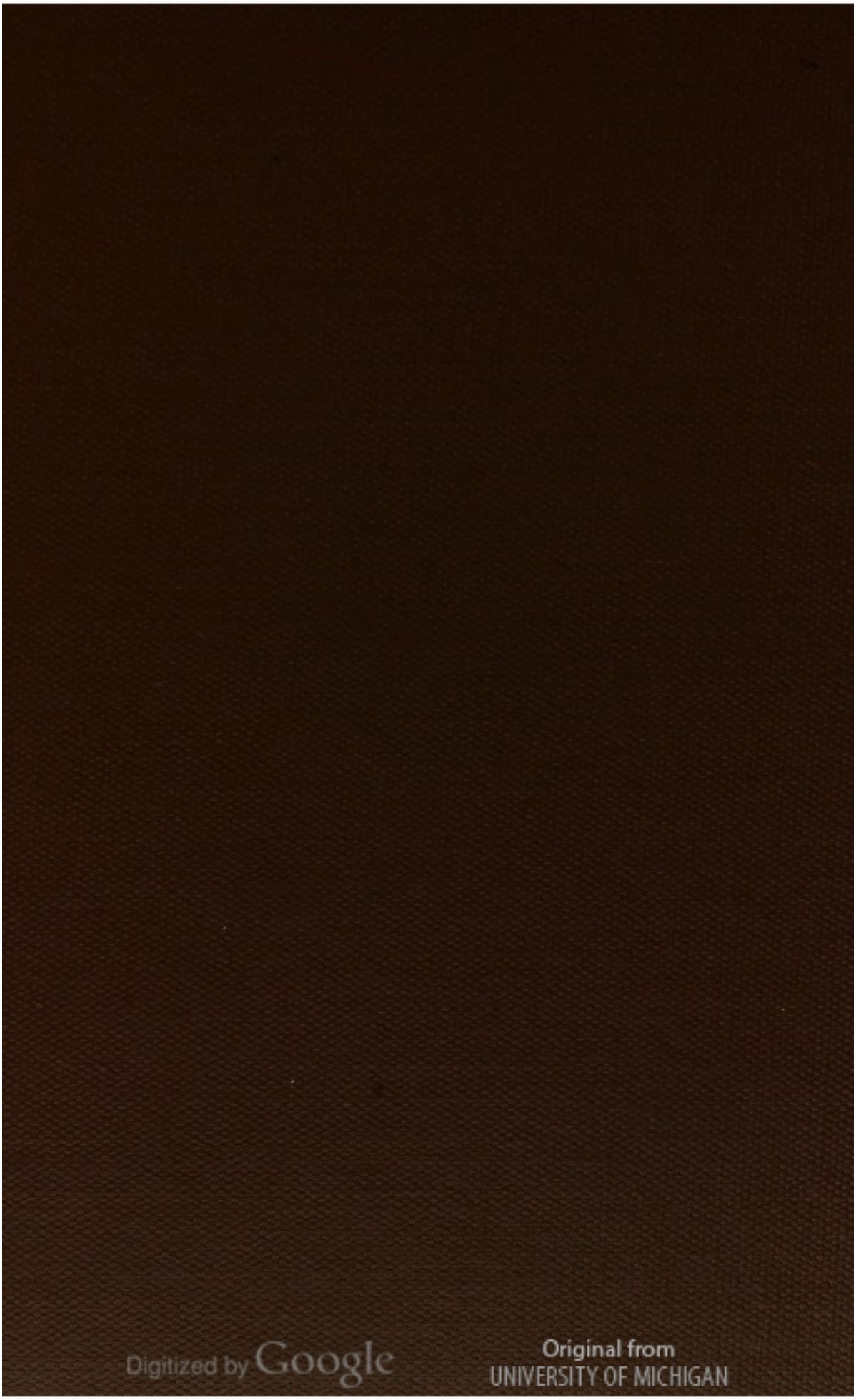
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